

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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ART. I. — AUGUSTE DE GERANDO.

WHEN, in the closing month of the year 1849, news of the death of Auguste De Gerando reached the friends of Hungary, they felt that a new calamity had fallen on that desolated land: another heart and arm of those that had best loved and defended her had been struck cold and powerless. In the country of his birth, in that of his adoption, the gloom deepened around those whose hopes that unhappy year had seen blighted. Those who had enjoyed his intimacy, who had shared and sympathized in his aspirations and labors, mourned a double bereavement: the deprivation of the comrade in the ranks of progress; the loss of the most warm and true-hearted of friends. A force was taken from their cause in the able writer, the energetic man; a charm was withdrawn from their daily life when it could no longer be enriched by his overflowing affections, no longer enlivened by his playful wit, the infinite grace of his conversation. Even those who had not seen him closely enough to know the completeness of his gifts felt a touch of sadness when they heard that this beautiful young life had been thus prematurely closed. Those even who had seen him but casually, who had known but for

an hour the magic of his society, felt that they had lost something in him. Nor were these regrets shared only by those who had known the privilege of his personal converse. On this side of the Atlantic there were found those who mourned in him a friend and ally. Those who loved Hungary, those who cherished her cause in its dark hour, as warmly as when the admiration of the world hailed each successive triumph of patriotism and genius, felt that this cause had lost one of its ablest defenders. No Hungarian could regard his native land with a more devoted affection than she had inspired in this son of her adoption. He gave to her — to the elucidation of her history, to the vindication of her claims to the respect and gratitude of Europe — the labors of his years of happiness and vigor. He devoted to her cause the last efforts of his decaying strength. When he foreboded — almost without believing his own prophetic misgivings — the approach of death, the thought of being lost to her service was one of the keenest of the regrets awakened by the prospect of resigning a life he had promised himself to render so useful to her and to humanity. "No," he said, "I cannot die. I have too much to do."

If the life of De Gerando had been extended, he would have given to the world the history of the years 1848 and 1849 in Hungary. In this view alone, that country sustained in his death a loss which can hardly be repaired. He had peculiar qualifications for performing this work. He was intimately acquainted with the history of Hungary, and with the causes, remote and near, which produced the events of 1848. A Hungarian in heart, he was yet by his foreign birth and education removed from the influence of the local predilections, the hereditary prejudices, the party animosities, which almost unavoidably modify the views and color the narrative of even the most sincere men, when they relate the history of their own country and time. He would have taken a clear and comprehensive view of the course of events. He would have rendered equal justice to all. Too large-minded and too Christian to judge men and their actions solely by the test of temporal success, he would not have been found in the number of those who, after an event is accomplished, amuse their self-love by working out in the



quiet of the study a plan of procedure which — as they draw it on paper, unembarrassed by opposition, secure from disconcerting accident — they can safely argue would have led to a different result. He would have claimed sympathy for the lofty purpose, for the heroic effort, though they had failed of their temporal reward. His candor would have recognized the wisdom even of the baffled plan, would have done justice to the valor that did not avert defeat. To all the qualifications for writing upon Hungary which De Gerando possessed in his familiar acquaintance with the country, and in his exact historical knowledge, he joined the gift of eloquent expression, and to all these endowments was added that first of requisites for the true historian, a generous heart. His work would not have offered an uninspired daguerreotype. His page would have rendered back faithfully, but with the glow his enthusiastic nature would have lent his pen, the devoted patriotism, the sublime patience, the magnanimous forbearance, the inventive genius, the fertility of resource, — all the virtues that manifested themselves, all the faculties that were called forth, in this heroic struggle for a cause the most righteous, the most pure, that ever claimed the sympathy of man, or made appeal to the justice of Heaven.

The failing mortal frame refused to second the energy of the intellect and the will. Worn out by long-continued toil, and, still more, by anguish of heart, he survived but for a brief period the ruin of the hopes of his adopted land. Only a few weeks divided his fate from that of those noble men who, victims of cold vengeance, after the contest was over, paid with their lives the penalty of their devotion to their country. He would have raised a monument to their memory. It was permitted him only to share their grave. In the heart of mourning Hungary he will hold one place with them, not less devoted to her cause than they, hardly less its martyr.

Six years have now elapsed since the earthly portion of the existence of De Gerando was brought to a close. Up to this time, no record has been traced of that brief life, so full of performance and of promise, closed before its meridian, and which has yet left behind it enduring traces and regrets hardly to be consoled. The pious cares of a Michelet or a Dumesnil will perhaps one day supply

this want, and raise a fitting monument to the memory of their friend. In the mean time the hand of a stranger has gathered together the materials of a modest memorial.

Auguste De Gerando was born at Lyons on the 4th of April, 1819. He was a descendant of an ancient and respectable family, to which tradition ascribed a Spanish origin, but which had been for five generations established at Lyons. His grandfather, a man of elevated and pious character, was distinguished as an architect, and many public buildings in his native city yet preserve his memory. The grandmother of Auguste De Gerando must find mention here as one of the persons who exercised an influence over his childhood. She was a woman of grave and dignified character, in whose house all the observances of the ancient school of French manners were exactly maintained. She never permitted the violation of any point of etiquette on the part of her grandchildren to pass unnoticed. It is perhaps to be attributed to the training he received under the auspices of this venerable lady, that Auguste De Gerando, in after life, represented in his person the France of the ancient *régime* as well as that of the new era; while his expanded views, the clearness of his convictions, and the largeness of his sympathies, proved him to have received into his character all that was most great and generous in the ideas of the Revolution, the grace and finished courtesy of his manners recalled the social amenities of old, traditional France.

Antoine De Gerando, the father of Auguste, was a man of energetic character, remarkable for his lively wit and a turn for good-humored satire. He died when Auguste was only four years old. During his illness, which was lingering, his chief solace was found in the presence of his little son, who, with a self-control beyond his years, restraining the activity of childhood, would sit for hours immovable, his little hand resting in that of his sick father. The fortunes of Antoine De Gerando had known the vicissitudes incident to revolutionary times. At one period in the possession of an ample fortune, he had seen it melt away in his hands. A lucrative post which he held for many years previous to his death prevented his family from feeling the effects of this change of cir-

cumstances during his lifetime, but at his death he left only a moderate provision for his family.

Thus early deprived of his father, Auguste De Gerando passed his childhood until the age of eight years, under the sole charge of his mother, a Roman of the house of Barberi. She was a woman of great elevation of character, and of singular loveliness. Her son was accustomed to speak of her, in after years, as *mia santa madre*. The delicacy of his constitution was a source of solicitude to his mother, and rendered him the object of peculiar tenderness. He fully returned her affection, and seemed, even at this early age, already to understand the responsibility which rested on the son of a widowed mother. When, after the death of his father, some friends — forgetting his presence, or not thinking the little child could understand the subject of their conversation — were speaking before him of the heavy trials his mother had met, he approached them with a serious air: "Yes," he said, "my mother has suffered much, but I am her consolation." His childhood and youth did not disappoint the promise of his infancy. At the age of eight years he entered the royal college of Versailles. His mother wished to obtain for him, as the son of a public functionary, a *bourse* from the government; that is to say, the payment of his college expenses, a privilege often granted to the orphans of men who have been in the public service. She obtained for him a demi-bourse, or the payment of half the expenses. Hearing this circumstance made the subject of conversation between his mother and one of her friends, who expressed regret that the whole sum had not been granted, the young Auguste exclaimed eagerly: "Do not be anxious, my dear mother, and do not solicit any one on my account, I will win it for myself." Accordingly, at the end of the first year his mother was informed that she would have nothing more to pay for her son. His extraordinary diligence and ability, with his exemplary conduct, had obtained for him the privilege she had desired.

When Auguste had completed his collegiate course, he entered upon the study of the law, in accordance with the advice of his uncle and guardian, the Baron De Gerando. He gave himself to the study of his intended profession



with ardor, but he was not destined to pursue it long. He had not yet completed his twenty-first year, when an incident occurred which changed the course of his destiny.

The Baron De Gerando, known throughout Europe by the touching title of the "Visitor of the Poor," was looked up to by all those who occupied themselves with works of benevolence, as their head and counsellor. Among those who sought the benefit of his instructions was the Countess Theresa Brunswick of Hungary. This lady had begun the establishment of infant schools in her country, and had come to Paris for the purpose of visiting the *Salles d'Asile* and other institutions for elementary instruction. The Baron De Gerando gave her a cordial welcome, and gladly extended to her the benefit of his rich experience. On the occasion of her first visit to his house, the Countess Brunswick was accompanied by her niece, the Countess Emma Teleki. This young girl was a rare apparition in a Parisian drawing-room. Brought up in the depths of Transylvania, but in a home where art was cherished and the literature of every country welcomed, she belonged to the refined West of Europe by cultivation of intellect and power of appreciation, while her character and cast of mind showed her the child of a youthful and vigorous race that had not yet entered the stage of criticism and doubt, but was still in that of action and faith. Her manners were marked by a grave simplicity, the result equally of the retirement in which her youth had been passed, and of the serious studies by which it had been trained. Her beauty, and she was — as we have heard her described by one who saw her at that period — "beautiful as a star," owed none of its influence to the will to charm. She was of high bearing. But this stateliness was womanly pride, not aristocratic insolence. She was of an illustrious house; she counted among her ancestors heroes and statesmen of the most distinguished of her land. But she was also the daughter of an injured people. She had been familiar from her infancy with the history of the wrongs and sufferings of her country; she had thus been taught sympathy with the suffering and oppressed. The sensibility, then, which her features expressed, was not the mere sickly growth of a sentimental atmosphere. It was the intelligent sen-

sibility of one who had thought and felt; of one who had known life under its severe, as well as its sunny aspect. But the grief by which she had been schooled, near enough to be keen, was not personal enough to be selfish. It had tempered her character, without depressing its energy or chilling its enthusiasm.

Persons of large minds and hearts have something even in their first aspect which conveys a revelation of an inward life fed with high thoughts and hopes, occupied with great and unselfish aims. The common world renders an involuntary and ignorant homage; souls of the same mould recognize with joy the signs of spiritual brotherhood. When Auguste De Gerando met for the first time the young girl whom a singular chance had brought under the roof of his adopted father, he felt that with that interview began a new era in his life. This intuition by which noble spirits recognize the being under whose influence alone all their latent powers can be called forth, and in whose alliance they could enter on the career of life with strength and courage doubled, has nothing in common with those lightly formed and frivolous attachments, which, as they have never had any other than an imaginary existence, fade and vanish on their first contact with the realities of life. The illusions of vanity are fleeting, and leave only bitterness and an unsatisfied void, but the inward voice of the soul does not deceive. Auguste De Gerando had seen, in his own family, noble examples of disinterestedness and elevation of character. He had grown up under their influence, but the difference of years did not permit a perfect interchange of sympathy. The larger world about him, the world of a great capital, had not been without its influence upon him. He had acquired something of that reserve behind which ardent and sensitive natures shelter themselves when liable to be brought into frequent contact with scepticism and raillery. The society in which he mingled did not miss what he withheld. His sparkling wit, the charm of his manner, his various information, his kind-heartedness, caused his companionship to be sought after. He gave to his associates the brilliant and amiable side of his character. Only himself knew that the fountains which welled up from the deeper heart ebbed away in silence and loneliness. In the

society of Emma Teleki he found what had been wanting to him.

Congeniality of character and pursuits led to an intimacy between the Countess Brunswick and the family De Gerando. Auguste De Gerando and Emma Teleki met often, and their mutual attachment soon became apparent. The mother of Auguste, who thought only of the happiness of her son, saw with pleasure the affection which united him to a woman in every way worthy of his choice; but his other friends, more prudent, and the parents of Emma Teleki, saw grave objections to the marriage. The Baron De Gerando entertained high expectations of the future eminence of Auguste, and wished his fine powers to be developed and dedicated to the service of his own country. He saw in this alliance, otherwise brilliant and advantageous, the closing of the career to which he had destined his nephew, and feared it might result in his expatriation. The parents of Emma, on their part, heard with alarm of an engagement which might separate their daughter from them for ever. They had, besides, certain old-fashioned ideas of French levity and inconstancy, and could not believe that the happiness of their child could be safely confided to the charge of a Parisian husband. It was decided, therefore, by the friends on both sides, that the marriage was inexpedient. The youth of the parties and the shortness of the acquaintance led their friends to believe that the lightly formed impressions would be speedily effaced by absence.

A year passed. The expectations which the friends of Auguste De Gerando had entertained of the effects of absence had not been realized. He had loved, as he says in a letter which he wrote during this period, "as a young man loves who has not wasted his affections on transient fancies, but has treasured them up to bestow them entire on a single object." This serious and unselfish attachment was not one to yield to absence. In the mean time his health, which had never been robust, gave cause of anxiety to his friends. His physician ordered change of climate. He went first to the waters of Mont d'Or, and afterwards to Nice, where he passed the winter. It was here that a letter from his mother reached him informing him that the opposition which his family had offered to his marriage was withdrawn. The tenderness



of his mother, who was deeply alarmed for his health, and who felt that the wearing of a continual regret must retard his restoration, induced her to make another appeal in his behalf to his guardian. This excellent man, who desired only the welfare of his nephew, acceded to her views, and gave his consent to the marriage. Emma Teleki had also found an advocate with her friends in her sister Blanche, who found means to dissipate their prejudices, and disposed them to look forward with satisfaction to the arrival of their French son-in-law. The marriage was celebrated on the 14th of May, at Paris, in the church of St. Philippe du Roule. As an entire change of climate offered the best hope for the re-establishment of De Gerando's health, his friends made no opposition to the project he had formed of leaving France to pass some time in the home of his wife in Transylvania. He left Paris almost immediately after his marriage, proceeded to Vienna, and thence, through Hungary, to Transylvania. On quitting Austria and entering Hungary he was forcibly struck by the change in the aspect of the country and the people. He saw the Austrian flag on the steamboat in which he went from Vienna to Posony lowered as they passed the ruined castle of Dévén, and the national flag of Hungary raised in its place. This was not the only sign by which he was made aware that he had entered an independent state. As he advanced into the country, everything announced a difference of institutions as well as of manners. "The roads," he says, "are not, it is true, as in the vicinity of Vienna, straight and gravelled like garden walks, but you are no longer stopped at every step by toll-collectors, by custom-house officers, by police agents, by all those personages, in fine, who, in Austria, are constantly reminding you that you are under the protection of the most paternal government in the world. Insensibly you find yourself beginning to breathe as freely as if you had not that very morning quitted the capital of his Apostolic Majesty."

After visiting old Buda and Pest, the animated modern capital of Hungary, he entered on the vast *puszta*s, the Hungarian prairies:—

"Here no roads, no paths. Only here and there tracks of wheels show where the greater number of carriages have

passed. Around you, at the horizon, the mirage in whose waters dips a reversed spire. From distance to distance a well, a simple hole in the earth, with a long pole to draw up the water, and a log of wood for a drinking-trough. Here and there also a mound, the tomb of some hero of another age. Above, flying storks. Towards evening on all sides gleam fires lighted by the shepherds, or by travelling merchants that recall the halts of the caravans of Egypt. The continued spectacle of a plain without limits may appear monotonous. But it is the monotony of the ocean. The traveller experiences a lively and profound emotion, when, after quitting the Danube boats, and the noisy society, French, German, and English, which animates them, he finds himself suddenly in this strange and silent region, borne along by four Tatar horses, galloping under the direction of a man wildly attired. To astonishment is joined admiration. There is majesty in this vast extent; something which composes and leads to contemplation. This limitless plain, where the eye meets no obstacle, is the image of liberty so dear to the Hungarians. On the puszta the rising and setting of the sun are magnificent. In the morning the earth is inundated with a sea of rose-colored vapor, which is illuminated when the disc of fire appears on the horizon. At the end of the day, when the sun closes his glowing course, half the heaven is on fire. The nights of the puszta have been compared to those of Venice for serenity, freshness, and the brilliancy of the stars. But the puszta ought to be seen in a storm, when the firmament, from one horizon to the other, is rent by the lightning, the wind sweeping as a master over this immense space, and the hills of sand which, here and there, vary the surface of the desert, rising in whirls and moving onward to form themselves elsewhere."

The herds of horses which graze upon the puszta, and which, with their keeper, the csikós, the true representative of the primitive Hungarian, form one of its chief objects of interest, excited, in a lively manner, the attention of the French traveller: —

"The herds of horses which people the steppes live constantly in the open air. They are under the charge of the csikós, that is to say, of the boldest horseman that exists. The animal remains for years in a half-wild state, until the day arrives when he is to be conquered. One morning the csikós, who knows his herd as others know their family, says to himself that he will break such a horse. He approaches him, speaking to him and holding out a hand ready to caress him. The animal turns toward the man a sidelong look. His nostrils swell as soon as he feels a hand placed upon his neck. He is disturbed as if he fore-

boded some danger. But the csikós has put his cap firmly on his head ; he has set his teeth together, and finds himself suddenly on the horse at the moment when it thinks to escape him. Then begins a terrible strife between the horseman and the animal. Dismayed, bewildered, the horse makes desperate efforts to relieve himself of his burden. He plunges, he rears, he bounds like a tiger. Nothing will do. The csikós throws out periodically magnificent puffs of tobacco-smoke, waiting until it shall please the animal to have done. The horse throws himself on the ground, but, as he is going down, the rider sets his legs apart, finds himself upright on the ground, and the horse, rising, carries him still. At last he sets off like the wind ; he hopes to fly this inconvenient burden, and employs the remains of his strength in running. This is what the man expected. He looks at the sun, observes the direction the animal takes across the naked prairie, and lets himself be carried off. When the horse is exhausted, he falls. Then the rider passes the bit he carries on his arm into the mouth of the animal, lets him recover himself a little, and carries him back tamed."

De Gerando gives thus his first impression of the Hungarian as he saw him on the prairie or in the village:—

"In the pusztas dwell the true sons of the companions of Arpád. They have not changed during ten centuries. You see them such as their fathers were, with the long moustache and the boot armed with spurs. Do you recognize the peaceful laborer in this man of resolute mien, of decided step? The Hungarian has remained a soldier on the soil he has conquered. His horses graze near him ; they repose now after the labor of the day as formerly after the battle. The aspect of the village itself indicates the origin of those who inhabit it. It consists of a long, wide street, formed by a row of houses separated by equal spaces, and which, with their uniform roofs of equal height, give the village the physiognomy of a camp. Between the habitations, in the centre of the village, now rises the church. In this place was formerly the tent of the chief."

Quitting the plains of Hungary, De Gerando entered one of the wild mountain-passes which conduct into the sister state, and soon found himself in the midst of the rich and varied scenery of Transylvania. The travellers rested a few days at Lona, an estate belonging to the brother of Madame De Gerando, in the neighborhood of Kólosvár, and then proceeded to Hosszufalva, the place of their final destination. Hosszufalva, situated in the



northern part of Transylvania, was the residence of Count Emeric Teleki, the father of Madame De Gerando. It was here that Auguste De Gerando passed those happy years which, even before the arrival of the days of sorrow that were to succeed them, he remembered as having been "too short." He led here a life entirely suited to his tastes. "Everywhere," he says, "you may lead the life of the château; everywhere you may find fresh air, horses, and books. But here we enjoy a complete independence; here no thought of those thousand conventional duties, those innumerable servitudes, which chain you elsewhere." "But," he adds, "what has given its greatest charm to this life so new to me, is the good I have seen done about me."

De Gerando found, in his new home, abundant subjects for serious occupation. He interested himself warmly in the condition of the country, in its past history and future prospects. He had arrived in Transylvania at a very interesting period. "I could not," he says, "have chosen a more favorable moment for visiting Transylvania. The memorials of the past are still existing; the country has preserved its original physiognomy, but it is easy to divine that all this is soon to pass away." The house which he had entered offered peculiar advantages for studying this blending of the old time into the new. The old Hungarian manners were preserved there, but they existed side by side with enlightenment of ideas and refined cultivation. "I could not have been more favored," he writes. "Arrived in a country entirely new to me and so different from my own, I found myself in one of those rare houses in which the reflex of the ancient days still lingers. In a time when everything old is vanishing, it has been given me to go back some centuries, and to have a glimpse of an existence which elsewhere has now passed out of remembrance. This is due to the presence of a man, immovable as the *impavidus vir* of Horace, and whose conversation alone, in which learning and wit delight by turn, recalls the age in which we live." The Count Emeric Teleki was a conservative in the true sense of the word. While he rejected the capricious changes suggested by levity or vanity, he accepted frankly the law of progress. He respected the customs of his ancestors, and saw with regret the inroad of foreign fashions

and the adoption of habits which he believed inconsistent with the national character, and which, in his view, robbed it of its dignity and originality without offering any adequate compensation. But it was the virtues of his nation, and the manners which were their result and their evidence, that he wished to perpetuate. His reverence for the past was not a mere superstition. No abuses were tolerated by him in honor of their long standing, nor did injustice, in his eyes, become venerable by its antiquity. The following portrait of this excellent man has been drawn by one who knew him well:—

“The Count Emeric Teleki had too great a hatred for tyrants to become the mercenary of Austria. His life, therefore, notwithstanding that his abilities and his great attainments fitted him for any position, was passed in the greatest retirement, and there, in his invariable justice, recognizing the claims of those whom fortune had made dependent upon him, he sacrificed to them, without hesitation, his tastes for literature and science. Placed at the head of many hundreds of peasant families, chiefly Wallachs, who lived upon his estates, he possessed their affection to such a degree, that, during his long career, not a complaint was ever raised against him. His name was with them the synonyme of justice. Thus the number of his peasants increased every day. The people disputed with each other the honor of attaching themselves to him, and masses celebrated in every village demanded of God the prolongation of the life of this protector. It was not merely by his justice that he secured the affection of his people; he was equally remarkable for his benevolence. In the midst of his universal studies he had found time to learn the language of his peasants. He spoke the Wallach language with fluency and elegance. He was commonly seen in the street of the village, surrounded by faces beaming with gayety called forth by a *bon mot* of the Magnate, by a judiciously applied satire, or by a simple explanation of things before incomprehensible. He had yet longer conferences with his peasants, when, at stated times every week, he heard their differences and received their requests; for his greatest care, and the effort of his whole life, was to have no intermediary between himself and them. It was for this reason that, in addition to the general inspection he exercised over his numerous intendants, he opened to his peasants a means of direct communication with himself. Then, too, might be seen a lively satisfaction on the countenances of those who attended on these occasions, when the Count, by his penetration, disentangled an intricate cause, or baffled the cunning of some intriguer. He gave himself to all these acts of justice with

his whole heart, notwithstanding the physical sufferings to which he was subject, and which were frequently aggravated by these long sessions. It would be long to enumerate all the cares that this true father of his peasants had for them. In times of scarcity, in 1818 for example, his court-yard was filled with people, his own and strangers, who, during many months, found there a sufficient supply of food. The grain distributed at such seasons was never paid for. He chose the occasion of some happy event in his family, such as the birth of a child, &c., to give himself a pretext for remitting their debts to his peasant debtors. Sums of 20,000 francs were thus more than once abandoned by him.

"The Count Emeric Teleki had not less at heart the intellectual development than the material well-being of those placed under his protection. He founded many schools upon his estates. He chose for the instructors of the people men who knew how to win the attachment of the little children. Mingled among the older pupils were often seen little peasants of four or five years old, who attended the schools and did not return home during the whole day: for the good and indulgent teacher did not content himself with merely teaching his pupils; he took frequent walks with them, carrying the youngest in his arms. At regular periods examinations took place at the castle in the presence of the whole household. Prizes were distributed to the most deserving. There were among the young Wallachs, instructed in these simple village schools, many of superior capacity who have since made their way in the world, and who, to this day, bless the memory of their benefactor. The painful side of this life of self-devotion, passed in the midst of the people, was found in the continual efforts that Count Emeric Teleki was forced to make to protect his peasants against the exactions of the county administration. The Austrian government has always made it a principle to employ in every branch of the administration men without honor, in order to secure to itself more facile tools. Hence that shameful list of administrators named by it. Hence that systematic corruption in the election of the inferior officers of the county. Austria had by these vile means succeeded only too often in weakening the rampart of all liberty, the municipal life in Hungary. No weapon was of force against extortioners furnished with such powerful protection. In the district of Kővár these exactions had always passed all bounds. There was no check upon the men in power there except the fear of coming in collision with the just man who was always combating the law in his hand. Was an injustice offered to a tenant of Count Emeric Teleki, he spared neither trouble nor expense in lawsuits to obtain justice, and he succeeded by force of persistence, notwithstanding the supineness and want of loyalty of the government.



These contests were every day renewed; for, with his large heart, he did not content himself with watching over his own people. He raised his voice wherever he saw suffering. Volumes written with his own hand pointed out the evils which afflicted the country, and indicated the remedies. The government did not permit them to be printed. Thus was consumed, without ever attaining its objects, a life the most pure and the most active, which, free from the common failings of the world, had no other ambition than that of making happy."

The Count Emeric Teleki was strongly imbued with that spirit of equality which presided at the formation of the primitive Magyar institutions. The Hungarian in him was always stronger than the Magnate. De Gerando relates of him, that, being one day met by one of his neighbors, a peasant noble, who had some communication to make to him, and who in addressing him held his hat in his hand, Count Teleki urged him to cover his head, for the cold was keen. "By no means," replied the peasant, "I know the respect I owe you." "What," replied the Magnate, "are we not equals, nobles both?" "Yes, but I am a simple gentleman, you are a powerful lord." "I am not more powerful than you; we have the same privileges, I am only rich." "That is true." "Is it then to my purse that you bow?" "In truth you are right. You are rich and I am not. There is no other difference between us"; and he set his hat proudly on his head. But this spirit of justice and kindness was not displayed only toward those who might be regarded as belonging to his own order. While he would not admit that any distinction could be higher than that of being a Hungarian citizen, he desired to enlarge the number of those who had a claim to this honorable pride. Fulfilling in the most irreproachable manner his duties towards the peasants on his estates, he, of all men, had the best right to maintain the excellence of the existing system. But he was far from doing so. He perceived that this system, which had grown up from necessity, in a country involved in almost continual wars, was inconsistent with the present age, and above all with that happier future to which the patriotic Hungarians looked forward. He felt, too, that the chief strength of a state consists in the number of those who have a strong interest in its welfare.

Count Emeric Teleki was a Protestant. His wife, the Countess Charlotte Brunswick, was a Roman Catholic. His marriage with this lady had met with opposition on the part of his mother, a rigid Protestant. But his constancy prevailed over her scruples, and the lovely qualities of the young bride soon made her forget that she had ever entertained them. The Countess Charlotte is described as distinguished by all those qualities which make the highest excellence of the feminine character. Possessed of a sensibility which was quickly alive to the sorrow and pain of others, she was endowed with a serenity of temper that diffused a bright calmness about her. The sentiment of duty was all powerful in her, but she had an unbounded indulgence for the failings of others. Under all the trials and disappointments to which the career of that man is subject who devotes his life to efforts for doing good in a country which is at the mercy of a false and oppressive government, her husband found repose and solace in her cheerful and sympathizing society. Her first look had power to charm away his vexation or anxiety. He used to call her eye the "eye of consolation." His affection for her did not diminish nor change its character as time advanced. The warmth of her heart and the activity of her intellect, joined to that candor and childlike simplicity which were remarkable in her, preserved to her the charm of youth long after youth was past.

The Countess Blanche Teleki, the intercessor who had smoothed away the obstacles to her sister's marriage, completed the family group. Beautiful and full of genius, she was the joy and pride of the house. All those gifts of mind and heart which afterwards marked her out as dangerous to the suspicious caution of the Austrian government, and which now are consumed inactive in her lonely dungeon in the Tyrol, were then exercised for the delight of her home and neighborhood. Painter, sculptor, and musician, she had given her homage to art from her earliest youth. But this did not exclude a yet nobler devotion. The love of humanity, the sentiment of universal brotherhood, which afterwards ripened into a principle, already glowed in her young heart, and all the talents of the artist were only as accessories to the higher endowments of the great-souled woman.

The district of Kővár, in which Hosszufalva is situated, is rich in romantic and heroic associations. Its principal town, Nagy-Banya, possesses a house once occupied by John Hunyadi, and a church built by him after his victory of Szent-Imre. It was formerly surrounded by strong walls, and had once the honor of standing out against an Austrian army. It opened its gates to Rákóczy during the long war of insurrection still known in Hungary and Transylvania as the Crusade, and, as a punishment, saw its walls demolished by the Austrians after the conclusion of peace. The district of Kővár — stone castle — takes its name from an ancient fortress which formerly protected it, but which is now nearly demolished. In this fortress Michael Teleki, ancestor of Madame De Gerando, entertained the last freely elected prince of Transylvania, Francis Rákóczy. De Gerando relates an anecdote of this Michael Teleki, that illustrates both the undaunted character of the old Transylvanian nobles, and the conduct of the Austrian government, in which acts of audacious usurpation and brutal violence alternated with timid weakness. It was Michael Teleki who, in conjunction with Thorotzkai and Pékry, had summoned the Diet at which Rákóczy was elected Prince of Transylvania. He was therefore peculiarly the object of Austrian resentment. The amnesty which was one of the conditions of the peace of Száthmár should have protected him if the Austrian government had ever been restrained by obligations of this sort. But this government has never given to its vengeance any other limit than that of its ability.

“When,” relates De Gerando, “after the departure of Rákóczy, the Imperialists again took possession of Hungary, commissions were organized, notwithstanding the promised amnesty, and began to persecute those who had taken part in the insurrections. But the attitude of the country soon put a stop to these inquisitions. A tribunal of this kind was instituted at Nagy-Bánya and summoned Michael Teleki to its bar. He appeared, followed by the notables of the district of Kővár, guilty, like himself, of having risen against the Emperor. He was of great stature, with black, pendant moustaches, and long hair which fell over his shoulders. He entered the hall holding his mace in his hand, and wearing over his dress the tiger-skin adopted by the officers of Rákóczy. He seated himself carelessly opposite the com-



mission, and waited. The Austrian accuser was delighted to have an opportunity of making his power felt by a Hungarian and a soldier, and, with an insolence of manner which scandalized those present, demanded: 'Quis es tu?' He to whom this question was addressed rose suddenly, made a step towards the table, and making it fly into splinters with one blow of his mace, 'Ego sum,' he replied, 'sacri Romani Imperii Comes Michael Teleki, — teremtette! \* Ergo, quis es tu?' But he had not finished his answer before the whole of the terrified commission had precipitately quitted the hall. Under these circumstances the accused found nothing better to do but to mount their horses and regain their homes. They were not called upon to appear a second time, whence they had reason to conclude that his Majesty was satisfied with the explanations given to his representatives."

De Gerando passed the summer in visiting and studying the surrounding country. The Countess Blanche was the frequent companion of her brother-in-law and sister in these expeditions. While he examined the antiquities or studied the minerals or plants of the country, she sketched for him a favorite landscape or a picturesque group of figures, or wrote down the wild national airs that floated toward them from the camp of some wandering Gypsy minstrels. In this life so new to him and so full of variety and incident, the health of De Gerando was soon completely re-established. He gradually extended his excursions, travelling sometimes in a carriage, but more often on horseback, until he had visited every part of Transylvania. The interest which the first aspect of this beautiful country had excited in him was continually deepened as his knowledge of its history and its actual condition became more exact. His attention was particularly awakened by the efforts that Transylvania, in conjunction with Hungary, was making to repair the retardation imposed upon the political and social development of the two countries by centuries of exhausting wars and by the narrow policy of the most illiberal of governments. He early conceived the idea of making his own country acquainted with the interesting events taking place in this remote region, and of introducing to the sympathy and respect of the liberal minds of the West of Europe the noble and enlightened men who, by a course at the

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\* A Hungarian oath.

same time bold and prudent, were striving to secure for their country the development of its institutions and the extension of its liberties by a safe and legal path, without having recourse to a violent revolution. He was the more strongly impelled to undertake this work from the fact that misrepresentations and calumnious statements in regard to the conduct and views of the liberal party in Hungary and Transylvania had, through the influence of Austria, been widely circulated in the German newspapers. From these they had been copied into the French, and, remaining uncontradicted, had passed into public opinion, and had even found their way into the books of some respectable writers. He was obliged, however, to suspend for a time the accomplishment of this project. The prospect of war, which in the autumn of 1840 threatened to break out between France and the other great powers of Europe, obliged him to go back to his own country.

He returned to Transylvania, however, in the following spring, in season to witness the preparations for the assembling of the Diet of 1841. The constitution of Transylvania differed in some respects from that of Hungary. In Hungary, the population is composed of several distinct races, but these were regarded as forming one nation,—the Hungarian nation.\* In Transylvania, three distinct nations were recognized;—the Magyars or Hungarians, who conquered the country at the close of the ninth century; the Szeklers, who had established themselves in Transylvania before the arrival of the Magyars, and who, being of kindred race with the new invaders, and ready to unite with them, were left undisturbed in the enjoyment of their territory and their free institutions; the Saxons, a German colony, introduced into the country in the twelfth century, during the reign of Géza II., with a view to the improvement of agriculture and the cultivation of the mechanic arts, and to whom a separate territory and great privileges were accorded. These three nations held an assembly at Torda in 1542, and entered into a solemn compact with each other. They agreed to acknowledge a common chief and to unite in a common Diet. But it was stipulated that each nation should retain its rights and privileges and its own institutions on its separate

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\* We speak here of the institutions of Hungary prior to 1848.

territory. The three nations engaged to stand by each other in peace and in war, to defend each other's rights and liberties if attacked, and to persecute no one on account of his religious opinions.\* This treaty, whose provisions were confirmed by the diploma of Leopold in 1691, was the foundation of the institutions existing in Transylvania until 1848. The Hungarian territory extends over seven elevenths of the soil of Transylvania; the Szeklers occupy a little more than two elevenths; the Saxons hold a little less than two elevenths. The Wallachs — the descendants of the people dispossessed by the Hungarians in the ninth century — and the Armenian and Greek inhabitants of Transylvania were regarded as belonging to the nation on whose territory they lived. On the Hungarian territory the Hungarian institutions subsisted. It was divided into two districts and eleven counties, each of which sent to the Diet two deputies, elected by the nobles of the district or county. The privileges of nobility were not confined to the Hungarian race. The Szekler territory was divided into five seats, each of which sent two deputies to the Diet. The Saxon territory was divided into eleven seats, each of which sent two deputies to the Diet. The taxed and royal cities likewise sent each two deputies. The Magnates in Transylvania had not, as in Hungary, an hereditary right to a seat in the Diet. But the prince had a right to name a certain number of members, who were summoned by royal letters (*litteræ regales*) and thence called Regalists, and who by the law were entitled to hold their seats for life. Certain dignitaries of the principality — the supreme courts of the counties, the royal judges of the Szekler seats, the members of the royal judicial Table, &c. — had a right, in virtue of their office, to a seat in the Diet.† The leaders of the national and liberal party in the Diet were chiefly found among the Hungarian and Szekler deputies. The Saxon deputies were, in general, found more mindful of their German origin than of their quality of Transylvanian citizens. Their sympathies inclined them to vote with the Austrian party. Yet such

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\* Fessler, *Die Geschichten der Ungern*, VIII. 226, 227.

† At the Diet of 1841 - 43 were present ninety deputies, sixty-one ecclesiastic and lay dignitaries, and one hundred and forty-seven Regalists.



was the force of the eloquence of the liberal deputies, and of the justice of the cause they maintained, that they often succeeded in carrying with them, not only the Saxon deputies, but the Regalists.

De Gerando was much interested in attending the congregations or county meetings at which the deputies to the Diet were elected.

"The congregations," he says, "have a singular aspect, for the greater part of those who come to exercise their right of noblemen cultivate the land with their own hands. We must remember, in fact, that, after the conquest, all the Hungarian chiefs and soldiers were noble. Those only were degraded to the condition of serfs who had been sentenced to some disgraceful punishment. The kings of Hungary, and, later, the princes of Transylvania, ennobled a crowd of Wallachs. Thus there are seen here, as in Hungary, a great number of gentlemen, who, by their costume and their manner of living, are completely confounded with the rest of the villagers. They are called 'Bocskoros nemes ember,' 'Sandal-nobles,' on account of their rustic shoes. They come in their national costume to the county assemblies, and give their opinion boldly. They form the most impressionable audience imaginable. The head bent forward, the eye fixed, they listen to the orators who rise by turns in their midst, and express their displeasure or their satisfaction briefly, with a rude frankness."

The assembling of the Diet was an event of great importance in Transylvania. That of the Diet of 1841 was looked forward to with unusual eagerness. "It is a general festival," says De Gerando. "Everywhere words of felicitation and of hope are interchanged." The Diet of 1834, — the first assembled after an interval of more than twenty years, — and that of 1837, had been almost wholly occupied in defending the constitutional rights of the country against the systematic encroachments of the Austrian government. In this contest the national party had triumphed, and it was understood that the Austrian government had determined to desist from a course as fruitless as it was irritating, and to adopt a more conciliatory policy. The liberal party, therefore, promised themselves that this Diet — released from the necessity of acting on the defensive — should confer on the country benefits similar to those which the Hungarian Diet had already bestowed on the sister

state, and that the abolition of the distinctions which then separated the different classes of the population should find a commencement under its auspices. The liberals of Hungary and Transylvania were thoroughly united in spirit and in action. Some of the members of the Transylvanian Diet were also members of that of Hungary, and forwarded the same reforms in both countries. De Gerando followed the proceedings of this Diet with great interest. He divided his time between Transylvania and Hungary, an attentive observer of all that was passing in the two countries. In a letter which he addressed to M. Michelet in March, 1842, he says:—

“ I have now been many months in Hungary, endeavoring to take advantage of my residence in the country to study it thoroughly. I do not know whether your journals give any account of us. They generally regard the world as included between the Rhine and the ocean, without troubling themselves to know what is taking place out of France. Yet here, in Hungary, there are very interesting things taking place. A regular revolution is going on here, and one that demands for those who have begun and are conducting it the sympathy of all men of heart. The nobles of this country are laboring spontaneously to diminish the distance which separates them from the people — who have as yet demanded nothing — by raising the people to themselves on the one hand, on the other by lowering themselves to the level of the people. This movement, this work, interests me deeply. I follow attentively every step that is taken.”

In the autumn of 1842, De Gerando sustained a great loss. His uncle and adopted father, the Baron De Gerando, closed his long and noble career on the 10th of November of that year. This event was soon followed by another not less afflicting. In January, 1843, the household at Hosszufalva was called to part with her who, for so many years, had been its soul and life. The tender mother and devoted wife passed away from the scene of her earthly duties, leaving not only her bereaved home, but the whole neighborhood, saddened by her departure. Her death was like her life, gentle and tranquil. To the last her eye retained its look of angelic sweetness. De Gerando had become deeply attached to his mother-in-law. During the progress of the disease which, advancing by almost imperceptible steps, had gradually worn away her strength, he had paid her the most devout-

ed and filial attentions. "It was his mother-in-law," writes one who was near him at that time, "who called into view the most touching side of his character, that indefatigable solicitude with which he surrounded the sick. No attention, no filial care, was wanting. It was he who shared her ride at noon; it was his arm that supported her in her quiet walk. She was never weary of hearing from him accounts of a world that she knew only from books. A continual smile accompanied their conversation."

De Gerando shared with his wife the difficult task of consoling her father, whose broken health rendered the shock of this calamity yet more cruel. "It is all over with my earthly happiness," said the old man, when the grave had received the beloved friend from whom he had never been separated, even for a single day, since their marriage. From that time until a few months before his death — when deplorable events compelled him to quit his home, never to return to it — he did not leave his house except to visit her tomb. But though he felt his own happiness was at an end, he still lived for that of others and for usefulness. He interested himself in the studies and literary labors of his son-in-law, and aided him in his researches. The political prospects of his country also continued to claim his interest, although he ceased to take part in public affairs.

The Diet which assembled in November, 1841, was closed in February, 1843. It had accomplished many important reforms, and had removed some of the most serious of the disabilities of the peasant class. By a law passed on the 16th of August, 1842, it accorded to the peasant the right to hold landed property. By another, voted on the 5th of September of the same year, it decreed to the non-noble the right, equally with the noble, to attain to any office in the state.

"The opposition," writes De Gerando, "after having obtained the passage of these laws, wished to give the peasants political rights. It was proposed to give them a representation in the Diet. The conservatives succeeded in having this motion rejected, reminding the assembly that, as the greater part of the nobles lived like the peasants, and in the midst of the peasants, they were the natural representatives of the popular interests. The motion of the liberals, though rejected by the assembly, ought not



the less to be mentioned, as a proof of the generous sentiments which animated the national party."

The condition of the Transylvanian peasants, though in some respects inferior to that of the same class in Hungary, was, even before the ameliorations effected by the Diet of 1841-43, far removed from that of a serf. The Transylvanian peasant was not bound to the soil, but possessed the power of free migration. His tenant-right descended to his legal heirs. If he quitted his lord, he could demand indemnification for the expenses he had bestowed on the house he had occupied, and for any buildings he had erected on the farm. The condition of the peasants, on the estates of the great proprietors especially, offered so many advantages, that they were sometimes less ready to accept the new privileges granted to them than their lords were to yield them. De Gerando relates a conversation which he heard between Count Emeric Teleki and one of his peasants on this subject:—

"'The Diet,' said the Magnate, 'has given you the right to purchase the soil, and, without doubt, the king will confirm this decision. You have a great number of oxen. Estimate their value yourself, and give me enough to pay for your land; you will then be a proprietor like myself.'—'No,' answered the peasant promptly, counting on his fingers the advantages and disadvantages of the bargain. 'No. If I give you my cattle and you give me your land, that is fair certainly. But this land will have to be divided equally among all my sons; and then what will become of the sons of my sons?'—'They will find the means of living; they will learn a trade.'—'A trade! there are too many Germans and Jews already. No, we are cultivators. My children, in the end, would have nothing left, and they would become poor like the sandal-nobles!' To understand this reply, it is necessary to know that the rustic nobles, whose inheritance is constantly divided, are sometimes so much impoverished, that the peasants take them into their service, and send them to perform the soccage labor in their place."

The spring of 1843 brought a new domestic sorrow to De Gerando. Early in the month of May he received a letter from his mother, full of tenderness and of hope for his future. But it was a letter of farewell. He had confided to her his projects,—the plan of the works he was engaged in writing. She encouraged him, assuring him of success. "But," she added, "I shall not see it."

Almost immediately after, he received the news of her death, which took place unexpectedly to those near her, the state of her health not having, apparently, given cause for unusual anxiety.

Not long after this event, De Gerando quitted Hosszufalva to return to Paris, in order to superintend the publication of the books he had been preparing on Hungary and Transylvania. The first work which he gave to the public was an *Essay on the Origin of the Hungarians*. In this work he reviews the various theories which have been held on this subject, and decides for the opinion supported by the traditions of the Hungarians and Szeklers themselves, who trace their origin to the Huns. He gives also an account of the expeditions which have been sent forth from Hungary at different periods, to seek out the birth-place of the Hungarian race, and the remnants of the tribes whom the conquerors of Dacia and Pannonia had left behind them, at different places, in their progress from the East. The record of two of these, undertaken in the thirteenth century, is found in a manuscript preserved in the Vatican. These attempts have been continued even down to the present century. The most remarkable and the most successful of the recent expeditions of this sort, is that of Besse, who has published a very interesting account of his journey in Crimea and the Caucasus.

De Gerando has collected in his *Essay on the Origin of the Hungarians* many interesting particulars, drawn from old writers, concerning the character and manners of the Hungarians at the period when they first became known to the civilized nations as a distinct people.

"Modern historians," he says, "have sought the traces of the Hungarian invasions in the monuments of the nations attacked, and this is well. But they have fallen into the error of copying, in their description of the Magyars, the portrait, caricatured by fear, which these nations have left us. If we wish to see them faithfully described, we must read what is said of them by the Greek and Arab writers who have known them better. These historians dwell upon the 'probity of the Hungarians and the purity of their manners.' They show them to us 'inhabiting cities under the authority of a chief, making use of golden plate artistically wrought, and practising justice as severely as the Romans.' These writers speak also of the refinement of their tastes, of the splendor of their costume, and their tendency to all

that is magnificent. The Emperor Leo calls the Magyars 'a people, free, noble; aspiring to surpass their enemies in bravery; inured to labor and fatigue, and ready to submit cheerfully to the greatest privations.' Mohammed-Aiwabi-Achtachi, in his History of Derbend, speaks of the Magyars who had built the city of Kizlah, whose edifices, says the Arabian historian, appear from a distance like mounds of snow on account of their dazzling whiteness. He adds that, among the people of the Caucasus, the Magyars were distinguished by their peaceable character, their skill in the arts necessary to the community, for their fine form, and for their courage. Regino himself, though a German, in the portrait, not at all flattered, which he draws of the Hungarians, writes: 'There is no crime more grave in their eyes than theft. They condemn money. They have never known a foreign yoke.' Pray shows that the Hungarians, even while in Asia, were not destitute of instruction. While they were still nomades there were seen among them poets who sang during their feasts the exploits of their Vezérs. The deputies of Dsagul carried to Constantinople, on the part of the Hungarians, presents worthy of an emperor, and a letter written in the Scythian language. Evidently the Hungarians were not a people wholly devoid of culture."

The Essay on the Origin of the Hungarians was published in 1844. Early in the next year appeared "Transylvania and its Inhabitants." This work, which was immediately translated into German, and which had a wide circulation on the continent of Europe, is the most important which has as yet appeared upon that country. We extract from it De Gerando's description of the Hungarian character and manners, drawn from his own observation. This portrait is that of the Hungarian of the steppe or the village, not of the great cities, or of the superior classes of society, in whom, in all countries, the national characteristics are more faintly marked.

"The dignity of the Hungarian is that of the Oriental. He is grave like the Turk. This dignity suits perfectly the physiognomy of the Hungarians, which announces their Asiatic origin. Tall and muscular, they have the purely Oriental type: the aquiline nose, the black moustache, the full face, and the open forehead. Their step is at the same time grave and firm, and their gestures, by reason of this very gravity, never want nobleness.

"The Hungarian proverb says the Magyar is born a horseman. Never was proverb more true. The people of this country believe a man is not a man if he be not a horseman.



“ At four years old the child is placed on a horse. He grasps the mane of the animal with his little hands, and, as soon as he feels himself well seated, he does not hesitate to excite him with his voice. On the day that he can gallop without falling, his father says to him gravely, ‘Ember vagy,’ — ‘Thou art a man.’ At these words the child feels himself a foot taller. He grows up with the idea that he is a man and a Hungarian, — two titles which impose obligations. A man, he is called to the honor of being a horseman and of bearing arms; a Hungarian, he must remember that he is superior to all, and that he must do nothing derogatory. The sentiment of pride which animated his ancestors subsists as the other results of the conquest. He has therefore the consciousness of his value and his dignity. To be convinced of it, you have only to hear his language. The word ‘honor’ — ‘becsület’ — recurs constantly. All that he does is ‘becsületes,’ — ‘worthy of a man of honor.’ When he has carried you at a gallop for a whole stage, do not think he will demand his fee. He detaches his horses, uncovers his head politely, and, addressing you in his figurative language, wishes you a good journey. You will have to call him back to give him the money he has earned, and however little you may give him he will not remonstrate. That would not be *becsületes*. It does not enter into the ideas of honor of the Magyar to be either eager for gain like the German, or indolent like the Wallach. He works honorably like a man who has a family to support. He brings to the village the grain of which his wife will make his bread, the hemp of which she will spin his garments. In the evening, when he has well employed his day, he smokes before his door, caressing his moustache.

“ If he is master in his house, he does not the less treat with kindness those whom he calls his people. He is gentle, like all the strong. He never ill-treats his wife, never subjects her to rude labor. She knows that she has in him a support, a protector, and she receives from him the most tender names: *roz-sám*, my rose; *csillagom*, my star; *gyöngyöm*, my pearl. The Magyar language, full of metaphors, like all the Asiatic languages, contains a great many expressions of this kind. It contains, besides, a great number of polite forms, that are addressed to neighbors, to friends, to guests. If you stop in a village you will see one of the inhabitants, the one before whose door you may have stationed yourself, advance towards you, take off his hat, and offer you hospitality. When you quit him he will address you his thanks in a discourse in which he will call down upon you the benediction of Heaven. All this with a wonderful ease, and that dignity which only belongs to the Orientals.

“ The men of this privileged race have a natural nobility which

puts them on a level with the stranger who addresses them, whoever he may be. They have a reserve of language which surprises us in men without cultivation; a coarse pleasantry would never come into their mind. Nature has endowed them with an easy eloquence, which gives force and vivacity to the expression of their sentiments. Whether they express joy or give vent to anger, the words flow sonorously from their lips. To welcome a guest or to curse an enemy, they find an abundance of similes and epithets; the most polite phrases, the most energetic terms. It is true their language aids them marvellously. Poetic and melodious, it is not the less capable of expressing the most manly sentiments. Certain terminations which mark the plural give it sometimes a character of harshness, while, from the abundance of vowels, it is usually very soft. According to what he wishes to express, the Hungarian can, by laying stress on one or another syllable, employ at will a harsh or a harmonious language.

"I have more than once admired the elevation of ideas and sentiments in these men whom their nature alone aspires. The Hungarian peasant is usually sober of words; he never becomes familiar; but he is frank and loyal, and if he recognizes a friend in you, he will open his heart to you with sincerity. You will then be struck with the expressions which will escape him, with the sentiments that he will utter without an idea that he is strongly captivating your attention, and it will be easy for you, in your turn, to excite in him lively emotions. It is that there are, in the heart of this nation, noble chords, which vibrate to the first contact of an elevated sentiment, a generous idea."

De Gerando devotes some interesting pages to the national music of the Hungarians: —

"It is remarkable that, among the Hungarians, the great thoughts, the profound sentiments, of the people have been expressed, consecrated, not in popular poetry, but in national airs. The Diets in arms, which were held on the plain of Rákös, are, in the popular mind, the symbol of the ancient liberty. There is the air of the Rákös. There is the air of Mohács, which recalls the fall of the ancient monarchy; the air of Zrinyi, which perpetuates the memory of the heroic defence of Szigeth. The characteristics of these airs are spontaneity, originality. They are the productions of men who felt keenly and expressed themselves in their own way, unknown geniuses who were ignorant of their own power. When the heart of the nation had beat for a great cause, a noble name, a man was found who rendered himself the interpreter of the universal feeling, and the national air, like the Marseillaise, sprang into existence. Ráköczy, after

the defeat of Zsibó, in Transylvania, was retreating sadly towards Hungary, when suddenly the echoes of the defiles resounded with the clear and piercing notes of the tárogató. An unknown horseman, improvising a touching air, retraced to the mourning army all the grief of the reverse. The air was retained and is still played from one end of Transylvania to the other. In Hungary, on the other hand, I have heard, in the memory of the war of Rákóczy, brilliant airs, product of a day of victory; for this war was well calculated to produce popular poets, and each incident of the drama inspired a new melody. When these scattered fragments are united, in thought, these strophes, if I may so speak, they form a real poem. A magnificent souvenir remains of the Crusade — it is thus the Hungarians call the Rákótzian war, for was it not twice sacred, through patriotism and through misfortune? — in the national air which bears the name of its hero. The Rákótzian is not merely a sublime melody. It is an epic. All that a desperate struggle has of hopes and of tears, of glory and of grief, is admirably expressed in it. We see the whole drama unfold before us. At first, sad and prolonged notes. Hungary suffers and weeps. Suddenly resounds an appeal to arms, a pressing appeal. Haste! the country on her knees extends her arms to you! Then comes the march, calm and proud; the combat, short as that Petrarch asked for Italy; the songs of triumph. Hark! the enemy returns in force. Ah! this time how long is the battle! cries of despair! Alas! all is lost, and the plaintive notes are repeated and prolonged until posterity weeps long over this great grief.

“The Rákótzian is not written; for I do not count some bad transcriptions made for the music-merchants. It is played from memory, from tradition. The national melodies, which are in Hungary what the popular ballads are elsewhere, are thus transmitted from one generation to another. It is not the Hungarians who execute them, but the Gypsies, those wandering minstrels who carry their talents from village to village. This may appear strange, but nothing is more natural. For the Hungarian, to listen to the national music is a serious affair. He has his favorite airs played to him, and meditates on the ancient days. He has enough to do to think. Originally these airs were played on the tárogató. This is an instrument of wood, about a foot long, whose sound recalls that of the hautboy. In all probability it was brought from Asia. It was to the sound of the tárogató that the population assembled, and put itself in march, when the revolt had been decided on. After the pacification, therefore, the Austrians, who knew this instrument well, took great pains to cause it to disappear. They burned all that came in their way, and threatened the popular artists. Now, no one knows how



to play the *tárogató*, and there is only one of these instruments in Transylvania, and this was brought from Moldavia. Throughout Hungary are found bands of Gypsies who have no other occupation than to play the national melodies. None of these wandering musicians can say to whom the melodies they execute are due. They have them from their fathers, and play them from memory. Attempts have been made to write them down, and some of them are sold at Vienna and Pest. But care has been taken to convert them into waltzes, and to arrange them with brilliant variations. These airs are not suited to the piano and the drawing-room. They must be heard, repeated by the echoes for which they were made, in the midst of the scenes with which the events they commemorate are associated. There is in this music something of bold, unsubdued, and wild, which requires the open air and the sunshine."

One of the most interesting portions of this work of M. De Gerando, is the account given of the colleges of Transylvania. The principal Roman Catholic college is at Kolosvár.

"This college was founded in 1581, by the Prince Stephen Bátor, with the consent of Pope Gregory, and was at first confided to the Jesuits. The pupils, who are very numerous, remain here twelve years if they wish to follow the complete course of study. The greater part of the professors are ecclesiastics. This college, like all those which belong to the Catholics, is placed under the authority of the Bishop of Carlsbourg. He draws subsidies from the provincial revenues derived from the contributions of the country, and receives besides, from the city of Kolosvár, a portion of certain tithes which Gabriel Bátor had originally given in full to the Calvinistic college.

"The Calvinistic college at Kolosvár was founded by Prince Bethlen, who gave to the college a rent of sixteen thousand quintals of salt. Nearly five hundred pupils are admitted into this institution. The course of instruction lasts fourteen years. During the first eight years the pupils are instructed in the languages, in history, &c. In the remaining years they study mathematics, philosophy, and law. Many donations have been made to this establishment by the Transylvanian Magnates. They have a well-selected library, the gift of Count Emeric Teleki.

"The Catholic colleges of Transylvania alone are supported by the government. Those which belong to the Hungarians of the Reformed Church receive no subsidy. They are supported by the gifts of individuals, and by the revenues assigned to them in former times by the princes.

"It is chiefly in the Reformed colleges that the liberal youth is trained. In Transylvania the education of the college comprehends not only the ordinary studies of our Lyceums, but those which belong to the faculties, as, for example, the course of law. The pupil enters a child and comes out a man capable of embracing the career to which he is destined. In a national point of view, therefore, the Reformed colleges have a great importance. We find a double interest in visiting them; for there is a satisfaction in seeing these institutions not only maintain themselves, notwithstanding the ill-will of the government, but give an instruction superior to that which the pupils of the government receive. This is explained by the superior intellectual activity that prevails in them. It will be easily understood, that, in such circumstances, the choice of a professor is a grave matter, and even a political event. The government party and the liberal party often enter into a contest on these occasions, and the students never fail to testify loudly their joy or their dissatisfaction, according to the event.

"What we have said of the Reformed colleges is particularly applicable to that of Enyed, which is the best of all, and has the largest number of pupils. The Protestants of Transylvania regard this institution, in some sort, as the palladium of Hungarian nationality. It is not therefore much in favor with the government. There reigns here an intellectual ardor, a freedom of thought and language, unknown at Vienna, where there is a decided preference for what, in chancery style, are termed 'quiet people.' When, in 1834, under the impulse of Wesselényi, the Hungarian opposition was organized, a professor of the college of Enyed — M. Charles Szás, Professor of Law — was sent to the Diet as deputy. M. Szás was one of the chiefs of the liberal party, and although all his efforts were exerted to persuade the opposition to moderation, he incurred the resentment of the government.

"It was not only the principles of M. Szás that were condemned. The government seized the occasion to inflict a severe reproof on the college of Enyed. In truth, the sympathy of the students had followed the professor. The young men repeated to each other the words their master had pronounced in the Diet, and a great excitement reigned among them. They were soon disturbed in their turn. They had joined together to form a private library, in which were found the principal Hungarian and German poets. The hall in which these books were kept was decorated with portraits of the heroes of the Polish revolution. This was enough. These literary meetings were believed to have a political character, and the students were deprived of the use of their books. The consequence has been, that the

spirit of independence which animated the college of Enyed has been singularly increased. It has resulted also from this position of things, that the professors and students are very strongly attached to each other as champions of the same cause. This close union cannot but have a happy influence on their studies. These students, thus early taught that the country counts on them, feel the obligation they are under to respond to this call. They preserve a dignity, a respect for themselves, which is not always found among the students of France and Germany. By the gravity which tempers the expression of their intellectual physiognomy, it is evident that they take a serious view of life. Let it not be supposed, however, that by this education the vivacity of youth is entirely suppressed. When I visited the chambers of the students, I remarked that instruments of music hung upon the walls, and, walking in the evening in the neighborhood of the college, I heard from the windows voices, accompanied by the guitar, singing with fervor the national airs.

"The college of Enyed was founded by Prince Bethlen, and at first established at F<sup>é</sup>j<sup>é</sup>r<sup>v</sup>ár. Its history gives that of the country. In 1658 the Turks and Tatars who ravaged Transylvania killed a number of the students and carried others into slavery. The buildings were destroyed, and the library, which contained books from the palace of Mathias Corvinus, was given to the flames. Those of the students who escaped the massacre took shelter within the walls of Kolosvár, and followed during five years the lessons of a celebrated professor, Peter Vásárhelyi. Under the reign of Michael Apafi, the college was transferred to the little village of Enyed. There new misfortunes assailed it. In 1704, Enyed, which had taken part in the insurrection of Rákótz, was surprised on Palm Sunday by the imperial troops. The Austrians pillaged the town and then set fire to it. Eighteen students were killed, a greater number wounded. Six years after, a pestilence decimated the students of Enyed. They were forced to take refuge elsewhere. It is impossible not to admire the energy of this studious youth, whom war and pestilence thus assailed in their retreat, and who, the storm passed, reassembled at the voice of the master. Among the professors who, in these difficult times, distinguished themselves by their courage and learning, was Francis Pápay, who, during forty years — from 1676 to 1716 — did not cease to spread instruction among his countrymen. In the midst of the numerous trials he had to support, he preserved sufficient serenity to write, on the national language and literature, works which have become classical."

The college of Enyed was destined to see, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a renewal of its ancient calamities. In the month of November, 1848, a barbarian



horde, composed of Wallachs and of imperial troops, fell upon the city, and, after committing frightful atrocities, attacked the university. They destroyed the valuable library, in which was stored a priceless collection of documents and manuscripts relating to Transylvanian history, among which were the voluminous manuscripts of Benkö, who, not being permitted to print them, bequeathed them at his death to the college of Enyed. The ravers vented their fury on the inanimate books and papers, not only burning them in heaps, but tearing them leaf from leaf and scattering them to the winds. They plundered the museum and the valuable collection of coins, and, in conclusion, set fire to the buildings of the university, which, with what remained of their contents, were entirely consumed.

Next in importance to the college of Enyed is that of Maros Vásárhely in the country of the Szeklers. This college, like that of Enyed, was regarded as the nursery of patriotism and liberal sentiment. The city of Maros Vásárhely is remarkable as the place in which Francis Rákóczy was proclaimed Prince of Transylvania. This city possesses a very valuable public library, founded by Count Samuel Teleki, who gave to the public his own library, consisting of sixty thousand volumes, and endowed it with revenues to provide for its maintenance and increase. A fine collection of minerals was added by Count Dominic Teleki.

“Maros Vásárhely possesses a very important Reformed college. It was founded by the liberality of the Calvinist Magnates, of whom one gave a hundred measures of wheat, another as much maize; a third gave a contribution in money, and so on. They imposed on their descendants the obligation of continuing these gifts. Some donations have been made by will. This college gives a gratuitous education to a hundred poor students. These are called *famuli*, because they are attached to the scholars who pay, and are supported by them in return for their services. There are among these *famuli* young men of great promise. This college would render eminent service to the country if it were not restrained by want of means. It is painful to see the zeal of the masters and of ardent students checked because the government refuses to grant any aid. The college has even been deprived of the tithes of Petrefi, which formed an important part of its revenues.

"The college of Vásárhely counts three centuries of existence. It was first established in Hungary, at Sáros Patak, in the middle of the sixteenth century. Patronized by the lords of the place, it rapidly acquired a great importance. In 1611, George Rákóczy I. became its patron. After the death of his son, George II., the college declined sensibly. After the Rákóczys had embraced Catholicism, the Jesuits succeeded in expelling the professors. Masters and students wandered about in Hungary, and, after long hesitation, fixed themselves in great numbers at Féjervár. They remained there eight years and then found themselves again forced to emigrate. Three hundred and fifty in number, they established themselves in Cassovie, where they resumed their studies. During the Rákótzian revolt they were obliged to leave this place. They took refuge in 1705 at Sáros Patak, whence their predecessors had been banished thirty-four years before. Finally, they directed their course towards Transylvania, and established themselves at Vásárhely, where they united themselves to a Reformed school which already existed there. The names of the Magnates who received and succored them have been preserved. Is it not touching to see this band of students, driven from place to place, listening to the word of the master by the road-side?"

The college of Maros Vásárhely, like that of Enyed, has seen in our own time a renewal of adversity. It has not, indeed, been devastated by fire and sword, but, in a season of apparent tranquillity, a blow has fallen upon it which has sent a shudder through the whole country. For, under a government like the Austrian, a time of nominal peace has its terrors not less than one of open war; terrors almost more appalling, in their cold-blooded formality, than the sudden ravages of a season of convulsion. The college of Vásárhely has recently been called to mourn one of the most venerated of her professors, cut off in the vigor of his days, by a death that would have been called shameful if the sanctities of martyrdom had not glorified it. John Török, Professor of Theology in the university of Vásárhely, was hung in the public market-place at Nagy Szeben, on the 13th of March, 1854. With him suffered two of his friends, one a distinguished advocate, the other a landed proprietor. All belonged to honorable and influential families. They were accused of having attempted to form a conspiracy against the Austrian government, with the view, as the official announcement of the sentence sets forth, to "a separation

of Hungary and Transylvania from the empire and the establishment of a free government." In confirmation of this charge, it was proved, or it was said to have been proved, — for who shall estimate the validity of the proofs accepted by an Austrian court-martial? — that one of the friends had given a night's shelter to a proscribed man. The 13th of March was chosen for the execution, in mockery of the feelings with which the Hungarians regard that day, the anniversary of their bloodless revolution of March, 1848.

The Unitarians possess a university in Transylvania. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic was the only religion recognized as legal. Lutheranism was introduced into the country in 1521, by some Saxon students who had studied at the German universities. It rapidly gained ground among the Saxon population. In 1557, a decree of the Diet secured to the Lutherans the free exercise of their religion. Calvinism was introduced in 1557, by Martin Kálmáncséhi, a pastor of Debreczen. This form of belief, preached by a Hungarian, found acceptance with the Hungarians, as Lutheranism had with the Saxons. In seven years after its introduction, its adherents likewise received from the Diet formal permission for the public exercise of their religion. The Unitarian creed was first introduced by George Blandrata, physician of the Prince John Sigismond. This form of faith met, at first, with opposition from the Lutherans and Calvinists. Numerous conferences were held, at which the discussions were continued for six, and even eight, days together. The converts to Unitarianism were very numerous; among them was the Prince John Sigismond himself. In the year 1571, the Diet decreed to the Unitarians likewise the free exercise of their religion.\* De Gerando visited the college founded by the Unitarian prince.

"There is at Kolosvár a Unitarian college. It was founded

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\* After his death they ceased to enjoy the especial favor of the government. They have never been so numerous in Transylvania as the followers of the other forms of Protestant faith, but they have always maintained a respectable position. Fessler, speaking of the Unitarians during the eighteenth century, says: "Their simple worship, the strict morality of their communes, the dignity, piety, and learning of their superintendents, have gained for them great consideration in the country."



by John Sigismond. At first flourishing, this college lost importance as Unitarianism lost its partisans. The Emperors Leopold I. and Charles VI. deprived it of its wealth, and the little property it now possesses arises from gifts made by individuals. It receives, notwithstanding, two hundred students, who are all lodged within the establishment. Four professors divide the labor of instruction between them, and form, with three inspectors, chosen in the consistory, the directory or committee of supervision. It will be easily understood that the professors, whose number is necessarily so limited, can only succeed in performing their duties by force of great energy, and I doubt whether the man the most hostile to their creed could refuse them his sympathy. The pupils study ten years, after which they can follow a course of theology which lasts three years. This college, notwithstanding the obstacles it has to contend with, answers every want. A professorship of law has just been established."

The salt mines of Transylvania form one of the chief objects of interest to the traveller, as they would form one of the greatest sources of wealth to the country itself, if it were permitted to derive profit from its own rich resources. We give some extracts from De Gerando's description of two of the most remarkable of these mines, those of Maros Ujvár and Parajd:—

"It is affirmed that one hundred and fifty salt mines might be opened in Transylvania. Six only are worked. The finest of these is at Maros Ujvár. Nothing, indeed, can be more magical than the view of these subterranean streets traversed by torch-light. Above, below, on the right, on the left, everywhere, you see only salt, which reflects the flame in dazzling sheaves of diamonds. As you advance, fire seems to dart out on every side. You walk for a long time between these walks, glittering with a thousand hues, and which seem to conduct to some enchanted palace. You ascend and descend frail staircases suspended over echoing abysses, while every step gives back a solemn sound, until you find yourself in presence of a spectacle the most magnificent that can be conceived. Let the reader imagine to himself many colossal naves entirely hollowed out of salt, whose marbled walls meet at a prodigious height, like the aisles of a Gothic cathedral. The noise made by the crackling of the straw burned to light these marvellous vaults, is like the report of musketry. The walls are covered with strange mosaics, with fantastic figures that the hand of Nature has traced upon them. In some places the salt is brilliant, in others it is sombre. Here and there enormous blocks have become detached and lie upon

the ground. Shadowy figures flit about, that you might believe dwarfs evoked by Goethe or Hoffman. These are the miners. There are two hundred of them. Their work consists in cutting from the walls or floor blocks of salt a foot square, which are placed in a net of strong cords and drawn up to the opening of the mines. There are rooms some fathoms large, where the breath of the workmen ascends, condenses, and forms long needles of salt, which hang from the ceiling and would fall and wound the miners if care were not taken to break them off.

"It is the Emperor who has the mines of Maros Ujvár worked on his own account. All the customary vices of the Austrian administration are therefore found there. All expenses counted, each quintal of salt costs the exchequer 17 kreutzers (73 centimes). As it leaves the mine it is sold to the Transylvanians at 3 florins 15 kreutzers (8 fr. 44 centimes). The greater part of the salt is sent into Hungary, where it is sold for more than six florins a quintal. A certain quantity of it is exported, and, as the neighboring provinces have likewise rich salt mines, it is delivered out of the kingdom at a lower price in order to facilitate the sale; so that the king of Hungary sells the salt to the Hungarians at a higher price than to the Turks. The salt furnished by Transylvania brings in annually eighteen millions of francs, which are poured into the private treasury of the Emperor. If the government, which passes for the most paternal in the world, understood at least its own interests, it would reduce these exorbitant prices. A regular system of smuggling, admirably organized, has been formed on the frontier. Everybody takes advantage of it, even the officials of the exchequer themselves. This contraband traffic will cease only when Austria shall at last discover that it is a bad calculation to try to draw from a people the greatest profit possible, without any concern for its wants. The neighbors of Transylvania carry on, thanks to the Emperor, a very lucrative commerce. They resell to the Hungarians the salt which they, as foreigners, buy cheaper than the inhabitants of the country that produced it, and, though they make a profit, the Hungarians still find their advantage in buying of them."

The monopoly of salt, and the enormous profit derived from it by the Austrian government, were among the old grievances of Transylvania. Francis Rákóczy, in the manifesto which he issued in June, 1703, and in which he sets forth the wrongs and oppressions that Hungary and Transylvania have suffered under the Austrian rule, says: "Nature herself, that just dispenser of the bounty of God, rebukes the infamous avarice of the Aulic Chamber. For, although she has bestowed upon the country

an inexhaustible supply of salt, yet the price of it is so high that the greater part of the inhabitants are forced to forego its use, and eat their daily bread unseasoned." In the present century, the country has more than once remonstrated against the abuses of this monopoly. The salt mines of Parajd are in the seat of Udvárhely, in the country of the Szeklers.

"I cannot quit Udvárhely without noticing the mines of Parajd. It is said that the greater part of the territory occupied by the Szeklers rests upon beds of salt. It is often only necessary to dig a few yards to open the mines. Sometimes the salt projects above the ground and forms actual rocks. The mines of Parajd are worked only in the three winter months. They employ a good many workmen, but there are only twenty-one who dig out the salt. A good workman can obtain twenty-five quintals a day, for each of which he receives two kreutzers (9 centimes). The mines of Parajd only supply the environs of the village. The salt is not exported, like that of the mines of Maros Ujvár. The salt costs the exchequer, all expenses counted, 56 centimes. The Austrian government sells it paternally at 8 francs 44 centimes the quintal, as in all the mines of Transylvania. Severe penalties threaten those who take away the smallest portion of the refuse salt called *szemsó*, which is not sold. An old woman who had taken a piece about as large as that which I myself took away as a sample, had passed the preceding night in prison, and had only been released by the intervention of a kind-hearted official. Sentry-boxes in which soldiers keep watch are placed on the heights of Parajd, that no one may approach the places where the salt appears on the surface of the earth. If, in digging outside a mine to stop a spring, the workmen by accident meet with salt, they are forced to throw it into the water. The Szeklers ask when the 'German Emperor,' as they always say, will leave off selling for three florins this mass of salt that they can dig out themselves in half an hour, and that in a country which belongs to them, and where their fathers gathered salt as they walked along the road. It is true, that, through prudence, five villages in the neighborhood of Parajd are allowed the privilege of taking a certain quantity of salt. Although the miners were not at work in the mines when I was at Parajd, I did not fail to visit them, in order to see once more these magnificent vaults, such as I had contemplated them at Maros Ujvár. Those of Parajd are not so vast; but their proportions are perhaps more beautiful. The water, in filtering through the salt, produces a substance that the Hungarians call *sóvirág*, salt-flower, whose dead white color enhances the effect of the brilliancy of the



walls. You can imagine yourself in a Gothic church, made of jasper, marble, and alabaster. Bundles of flaming straw were thrown down from the opening of the mines, and in passing through the air made a noise like thunder. When the flame went out and we were left in obscurity, our own voices, resounding through these immense vaults, had something of the strange and mysterious.

"If we admire at Parajd the wonders produced by the patience of man, we can contemplate, some steps farther on, at Szováta, a spectacle not less astonishing, which is the work of Nature herself. At Szováta the salt is not only found at the surface of the soil, but rises above it to a considerable height in such a manner as to form a chain of small hills. These hills or rocks, whichever they may be called, sometimes round, sometimes jagged, sometimes pointed, are in some places of a dazzling white, in others variegated or the color of malachite. They are generally covered with grass and shaded with trees, so that at a distance they might be taken for ordinary rocks, and the more, that, here and there, deep caverns are opened in them like those cut in the living rock. Between these rocks ponds have formed themselves, which are used for bathing. In the last century one of these ponds, which had been confined by dikes, broke them violently, and precipitated itself suddenly into the Küküllő. I remarked a torrent which deposed salt upon the pebbles; each stone disappeared under a brilliant frosting which reflected the rays of the summer sun.

"The salt rocks at Szováta were much injured under the government of the princes; yet they are still admirable. At that time every individual went quietly to make his provision of salt, knocking off here and there, and carrying away what he wanted. When the Turks exacted imperiously the arrears of tribute, masses of salt were hewed out in all directions, whose price was to pay the Sultan. Now, no profit is drawn from these hills of salt. The government contents itself with having them guarded by sentinels, that the people of the country may be obliged to buy the salt of the exchequer. Earth and branches are thrown over the places where the salt might attract the eye and tempt the passer-by. Fifty soldiers and twenty-five haiduk are posted at intervals with their muskets charged, to drive back any who might presume to approach. They have orders to fire if their threats are disregarded. Yet, notwithstanding this precaution, a great quantity of salt is taken. It is not very easy to prevent men who do not regard danger from taking a little of the salt which is so necessary to them, and which they find under their very feet, even though they run the risk of having a ball whistle by their ears. Indeed, I doubt if the sentinels often make use of their arms. The haiduk are mountaineers of the coun-

try; they make haste to turn their back or to look at the clouds when they see one of their neighbors approach in a cautious manner. As to the Polish soldiers who guarded the frontier, and who answered me by a look of intelligence when I hummed the air, 'Poland is not dead,' they appeared, notwithstanding the zeal of the government officer who commanded them, to give themselves very little concern as to whether the Hungarians took the Emperor's salt or not.

"When we call to mind the ingratitude with which the Austrian government has always acted towards Hungary, when we remember that the Hungarian products pay duty at the Austrian frontier, like those of a hostile country, and that Hungary is arrested in the development of its national wealth by the Emperors whom it has saved by its sword, it is easy to comprehend that these attacks upon the dignity of the exchequer are regarded by everybody in Transylvania as a thing very natural and perfectly just."

The "Transylvania" of De Gerando contains graphic sketches of the different classes of the population, and notices of the remarkable antiquities of the country; but that which more than all the rest lends interest to its pages is the view it gives of the transition from the old time into the new, the transformation of the heroic qualities of the Hungarian of past centuries into the civil virtues called for by modern times. The attention of the reader is powerfully engaged by the account given of the efforts made by the Hungarians of Transylvania and Hungary to make their country strong against Austrian usurpation and Russian intrigue, by forming its various populations into one united people, and to place it in the foremost rank among enlightened nations, by endowing it with all the benefits of the most advanced modern civilization. It was the observation of these noble endeavors — endeavors continually gaining in force and efficacy by the accession of new adherents to the liberal cause, and through the increase of political knowledge and experience — which so strongly engaged the affections of De Gerando, and bound him by so close a bond of sympathy to the men who were resolutely conducting this work, in spite of all obstacles, in disregard of all temptations, and at the cost of every personal sacrifice. The interest which De Gerando felt in these patriotic efforts, and his desire to render justice to those engaged in them, was still further heightened by the misrepresentations

which, under the influence of Austria, were actually propagated through Europe by the German newspapers.

"In Germany," he says, "certain journals, that see with vexation Hungary escaping from German influence, cannot pardon this liberal movement to which we have called attention. They have only hostile words for those who are conducting it. We believe the facts are sufficient answer to these words. The power formerly exercised by the noble proprietors has been abandoned by the nobles themselves, who work without respite to raise the inferior classes to their own level. The last Diets have diminished the burdens of the peasant, and there have even been found among the Magnates those that have demanded their entire suppression. The Diet has already decreed to the peasant the right to possess the soil, and that of filling all public offices. These are facts which have irrevocably passed into history, and the unjustifiable attempts made to undervalue them only inspire us with a stronger desire to render to the Hungarian nobles the justice which is their due. Has there ever before been an example of a privileged class taking the initiative in reform, renouncing of its own accord its privileges? With what pretence of reason are these attacks made upon the aristocracy, when the Diet, which is only the expression of its will, has declared itself so emphatically?"

We pause here, to resume the theme.

M. L. P.

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#### ART. II. — KANZAS AND NEBRASKA.\*

THE political crisis in the great contest between liberty and slavery in this country, brought on within the past year by the legislation of Congress, in forming the two Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, evincing an unusual excitement in the free States, has given those regions a peculiar interest at this time, in the eyes not only of America, but of the civilized world. The most conservative on the subject of slavery, and the most indifferent

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\* *Kansas and Nebraska: the History, Geographical and Physical Characteristics, and Political Position of those Territories; an Account of the Emigrant Aid Companies, and Directions to Emigrants.* By EDWARD E. HALE. With an original Map from the latest Authorities. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 256.



regarding political changes, are awakened from torpor by this bold encroachment on settled compromises and the principles of our Revolution. Everything therefore now published regarding those Territories commands public attention; and trusting that the book whose title we have placed below, as the most full, authentic, and useful document which has appeared relating to them, will be in the hands of all our readers who take an interest in the subject, we refrain from giving any account of its contents; indeed, as it consists of valuable information throughout, we could do no justice to it in representation, unless by copying the whole. We shall require all the space allowed us for offering such reflections derived from it as we humbly hope will afford some aid in directing the action of the community in the approaching conflict.

Whatever may be the disclaimers of those who enacted the "Nebraska Bill," as it is called, no intelligent man can doubt that it was intended to spread the institution of slavery over the extensive countries comprehended under the names of Kansas and Nebraska: this has even been avowed in some quarters, and strong resolutions have been passed, and vigorous efforts made, on the borders of those Territories, to accomplish that object. The former supineness of the North gave probably but little apprehension that any counteracting measures would be taken to prevent it. Indeed, neither the vast physical nor the moral evils which would result from the success of this design appear yet to trouble the minds of leading politicians or the devotees of party: the alarm indicated by the recent public meetings and elections seems to arise from the fear of the augmentation of the slaveholding power in the Union, and the infraction of a compromise, which throws open the door to further aggressions of that power. Few indeed fully contemplate the awful aspect of an empire more extensive than that of ancient Rome, whose fields — of surpassing fertility — should become, under a wasting culture, as barren as the desert, and whose customs should exhibit a still more mournful desolation, from which the divine instructions of the Gospel and of nature are systematically shut out, and where the equal rights of men and the pleadings of humanity are derided: fewer still appreciate the heart-sinking despair with

which the aspirants for freedom in the Elder World, anxiously looking to the bright galaxy of the American States for the political regeneration of mankind, would see only a many-headed despotism, more oppressive and debasing than their own.

On the other hand, imagination can scarce exaggerate the high prosperity, the moral glory, the felicitous influence on the world, when these extensive regions, added to those of the States yet exempt from slavery, inhabited by the most intellectual and enterprising people of the earth, shall draw from them, by the arms of free labor, a wealth to be everywhere diffused, and adorn them by an inventive science, which shall lay open the concealed wonders of nature, and extirpate all the removable evils of human society. Is it said to be incredible, that so stupendous an alternative can depend on the character of the first settlement of a small spot on the Kansas River? Let the great revolutions of history remind us, that, in their equilibrium, they have been determined by the most minute and disregarded circumstances; and when we consider that the act of Congress makes the fate of these Territories, as regards slavery, to depend on the first legislation of the settlers, it is no extravagance to believe that on this handful of men may rest the responsibility of much of the destiny of this continent; perhaps even of the future world.

Every light now shed, every influence now exerted, every effort now made, speedily to fill these new territories with the presence of men devoted to freedom, is a philanthropic movement of inconceivably momentous consequence; and in this view we hail the book before us as if a celestial messenger: we would spread it everywhere, as a gospel of liberty, for it lays open to our view, by authority which cannot be gainsaid, a region of peculiar beauty and fertility, in a manner impressively calculated to attract the landless and slaveless seekers of a home. In the commencing history we see developed a design of Providence of the most encouraging nature. A country hidden from the civilized world for ages,—occupied only by ignorant and ferocious savages, who have exterminated its noxious brutes, who have never been disposed to exhaust its improving soil by miscultivation, and have irrigated it only by the blood of war,—

is now, in its ripeness, open to the desires of a people who, in the new impetus of human improvement, are ready and competent to raise its products for the world.

We urge these considerations of the future visible destiny of our country, because we deem them best calculated to excite the interest of its patriots, who contemplate its rapid progress to greatness with pride, and look forward with exulting hope to its commanding grandeur, its leading example among the nations of the earth. To the Christian philanthropist, disregarding national distinctions, and animated by a love of the race, as a common brotherhood, a still nobler view may be presented. He contemplates with breathless interest the advancement of the divine power of love, in its conflicts with the long endured dominion of selfish malignity. He sees with alarm and sorrow the extension of the dark system of slavery, which, while it crushes the aspirations of the human image of God into the degradation of the brute and the despair of the demon, equally corrupts the sensual oppressor; and, next to the paramount crime and cruelty of war, he sees in it the greatest obstruction to the advance of the kingdom of heaven upon earth. Let him be brought to see that on this simple question of the settlement of a Western Territory may depend in a great measure the solemn alternative of universal benevolence or prevailing depravity, and he will not only have no hesitation in making a generous contribution, but will deem no sacrifice too heavy to aid in giving that Territory the prosperity, the innocence, and the beneficence of freedom.

It is only when impressed with these views that we can duly appreciate the merit and importance of the institution called "The Emigrant Aid Company," recently formed in Massachusetts, and which is now imitated in other States, for the double purpose of facilitating and guiding the migration of those foreign or native citizens who seek to become inhabitants of our Western dominions, and at the same time, through their means, of establishing such a predominance of free labor as shall effectually repel the ingress of slavery, and consecrate those delightful vales and prairies to the intelligence and affluence of freedom. We confess ourselves mortified at the apathy of our intelligent, high-minded, and



wealthy citizens, regarding this enterprise, who yet appear so ready and energetic in their efforts to check the progress of slavery by political movements of a much more objectionable and less practical character; especially when wealth seems so abundant, and, notwithstanding the pressure upon it, is yet so profusely expended.

Near the close of the volume before us, after a full and faithful history and description of Nebraska and Kansas, and a statement of the conflict in Congress by which the Missouri Compromise was abolished, our author gives a particular and very favorable account of the institution to which we have referred. He is sanguine in the belief, that, with the aid of other instrumentalities, it will be triumphant in excluding slavery from the Territories in question; perhaps too sanguine,—for such exertions are making in Missouri and other slave States, by forced migration and claims of pre-emption right, to anticipate the settlement by freemen, that the victory of the latter is yet in some degree doubtful, and can only be assured by a greater energy of Northern philanthropists than has yet been exhibited, and for which we would make our urgent and solemn appeal.

We would now offer some remarks respecting those legal and material bearings of the settlement of the Territories on the future condition of our Union, in view of which immediate political action will principally be guided. It is intimated in the book before us (page 159), that the free settlement of these Territories will much facilitate the construction of a railroad to the Pacific; an opinion sustained by a copious examination of the routes proposed for that object. And this, in view of the vast political and commercial importance to our States of such a road, is a consideration of no mean magnitude.

But the most important point pressing on our attention is the influence of the character of these Territories on the great and evidently increasing conflict between the free and the slave States on the subject of slavery, which now agitates the whole Union, and almost absorbs every other object of political action. This is a contest of vital interests on the one hand, and uncompromising principle on the other; and so radical is the discrepancy of judgment between the two sections, regarding the moral right or wrong of property in man, that a reconcil-

iation seems almost impossible ; and disunion is the great object of dread by both determined parties. The urgent question then is, how this catastrophe can be averted, and the contrary sentiments harmonized, without abandonment of essential position. It is plain that this can be done only by restricting each power to its own sphere, without interference from the other, and without implicating the whole in the maintenance of the contested tenet of either. Now the South cannot complain of injustice, so long as slavery, however deemed criminal by the North, is not disturbed within the borders of the States which cherish it ; but if this deplorable state of society is sought to be extended into Territories, under the dominion of the whole Union, and for the condition of which the free States are responsible as well as the slave States, it is manifest that the former will be thus compelled to sustain a system which they condemn, and which they cannot aid without incurring guilt in their own view. It was an instinctive judgment of the conscience that forced out so many recent declarations from eminent men, most favorable to peace and harmony, that, if the only alternative was to be participation in the turpitude of slavery or separation of the States, the latter, however reluctantly, should be preferred. The admission of slavery, therefore, into these new Territories, so far from being a measure of peace, would be the surest road to disunion. We present this imperative motive for aid to this cause to the conservative, the timid, and the patriotic.

We have yet another consideration to offer, which, viewing the sensitive character of our countrymen, we think cannot be disregarded. No one surveying attentively the aspect of the times can fail to perceive the vastly increased importance the condition and politics of the United States have, within a few years, acquired in the eyes of the governments and people of Europe. From a voluntary ignorance of, and almost contempt for, the institutions and unperceived growth of this republic for many years succeeding our Revolution, its rapid advance to wide dominion, political power, extended commerce, and scientific and literary celebrity, seems to have burst upon the eyes of Transatlantic nations, as a prodigy unexpected and astonishing ; and, by a natural reaction, to have drawn forth a greater admiration and excited a

greater anxiety than its real acquisitions warrant. Circumstances, in this eventful crisis, tend much to augment this attentive solicitude. The explosive mine of liberal ideas of the rights of man underlies all the trembling thrones of civilized nations, and portends a tremendous conflict of principles, such as the world has not seen since the martyr age of Christianity. It is perceived, that not only the determination of this conflict, but even perhaps its occurrence, or at least its development, depends on the antislavery contest now germinating in this country : the eyes of patriotic aspirants for liberty everywhere are directed to it with deep anxiety, to ascertain whether the new principles of political association on which our Revolution started can sustain a permanently free republic on so great a scale ; or whether, as ever before, they shall be reabsorbed into a deceptive aristocratic tyranny. The vassalage of the older continent here assumes the form of domestic slavery : here the mighty contest, suppressed in Europe, has recommenced ; and on the prevalence of the slavery or antislavery element depends, perhaps, the fate of the world for the coming century ; and it is perceived by all that the settlement of Kansas and Nebraska with free inhabitants is the first practical step to check the constant encroachments of the slave power, and to give promise of the ultimate victory of freedom.

From all travellers we learn the mournful change of American reputation abroad. Foreigners, who are well apprised of the hostility between the rulers and the ruled in their own monarchies, yet, looking at the theory of our republican institutions, erroneously infer that this elected government must truly represent the people ; and when they discern a legislation and administration which bend all their measures to advance the interests of slavery, grasping ever at new dominions for that purpose, and breaking down successively the safeguards of liberty at home, when they see our diplomatic agents at their courts ever ranging themselves on the side of despotism, they consequently and naturally attribute an unprincipled love of power, a tacit indifference to the rights of man, to our citizens at large, and regard the loud boasts of freedom of our writers and orators as utterly hypocritical.

Mortified is every American, who, in pursuit of fortune or health, or for the admiration of venerated relics of an-



tiquity or mediæval wonders of art, traverses the cultivated plains or the Alpine heights of Europe, when everywhere reproaches are cast on him by the struggling friends of liberty, for the inconsistent monstrosity of slavery in a nation which at birth was baptized in blood, in the name of human equality, — reproaches stronger, and better justified, when, instead of disclaiming, he attempts to defend that enormity ; and if a spark of the Revolutionary spirit of the fathers of his country, or of sympathy with the victims of the oppression he witnesses, is cherished in his mind, saddened must be his feelings when he learns the exultation of the despot over the failure of the great trial of human emancipation in the dreaded power which rose on its annunciation.

We can conceive of no single movement now practicable, which will so tend to remove these disgraceful impressions, and to restore hope, from our example, to the oppressed of other nations, as the establishment of freedom in the Territories now in question ; for it will then be seen that the majority of the American people have not yet lost the free spirit of their fathers ; that they do not participate in the corrupt retrogression of their government ; but, rising in their strength, have defeated one of the most trusted measures for the extension of human bondage. This will be hailed as an augury of popular reaction, which will make these States again, in reality as in name, the abodes of liberty, and ultimately frown the foul system of slavery into its merited perdition.

Again, those who desire to escape from the oppressions of the Elder World will see in these luxuriant Territories, when devoted to freedom, a land of promise, like that of the Israelites who fled from Egypt ; a land not only "flowing with milk and honey," but where communities may be gathered, never contaminated by the pestilential breath of tyranny, nor implicated in its maintenance ; and where they may accumulate moral and political power, to encourage and aid the brethren they have left in their struggles with established despotism.

The reputed wise of the age deride the expectations of unbroken peace and universal brotherhood upon earth ; they point to the sanguinary wars now raging, and say, too truly, that the long revealed authority and predictions of divine communications, the appeals of the friends

of peace to the conscience, the justice, the true policy of nations, or reference to the suffering interests of commerce and social connections, have hitherto effected no accomplishment, nor even prospect, of these blessed anticipations. War, the favorite instrumentality of the infernal spirit, — the most potent destroyer, corrupter, and tormentor of our race, — still rears its horrid front, in defiance of the mandates of the Most High, and the acknowledged claims of humanity. If, in the perpetual failures of the Christian measures hitherto employed for diminishing its power, we still confide in the divine predictions of its total cessation, and look for new methods of subduing it, we can discern none more promising than the establishment of mighty communities, on vast unexhausted regions, uncontrolled by military power, unfettered by the chivalric prejudices of ages, whose inaccessible position, rising intelligence, and imperative interests render their assent to war almost an impossibility, and make their growing strength and beneficent prosperity a soothing light and pacific leaven to the nations.

We have lately seen an interesting letter from a pious young man, settled in Kansas, under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company, in which he proposes and expects the establishment there of Sunday Schools and other religious privileges, and pleads for the sympathy and encouragement of Eastern churches. This is a token of most happy and animating augury: it speaks in imperative tones to that spirit of universal conversion, which seeks to spread the Gospel of Christ over all the deluded wilderness of heathenism. The establishment of such a church as this young man contemplates will be of more value and power than the most gifted missionary; it will be a corrector of the scepticism or recklessness of white adventurers, and an attractive light to the dark-skinned sons of the forest. The Sunday school, the conference meeting, are rare phenomena in the lands of slavery; they can only flourish in the condensed and aspiring settlements of the free. Whether, therefore, the future population of the immensity of the West shall, under such Christian tuition, manifest that faith which is animated by benevolence and redolent of piety, or languish in the dispersion, ignorance, and superstition of slaves, is the question opened to the conscience and the power of

Christian favorers of missions. Will they not ponder on this consideration? Will they not rather spring into action in this glorious enterprise?

We have now presented the high, and we trust influential motives for exertion in our community, in giving liberty to Kansas and Nebraska. We have been prompted as much by fear as by desire; for we are aware of the vigorous and unscrupulous efforts now making by the slaveholding interest in the vicinity, to secure those lands for slavery. Among the letters from Kansas since the publication of Mr. Hale's book, one is received of peculiar interest, as it announces the formation of an organized Association for the government of the Territory of Kansas, at its intended seat. After a full account of the regulations of this Association, and the arrangements made for partition of the lands, some remarks are made on the prospects of freedom, from which we take the following extracts:—

“Should we choose a legislature this fall, we shall be very likely to be worsted by the Missourians, as all Southerners are here denominated, as they can and *will* bring such appliances to bear along the frontier, that they are sure to outnumber us on a popular vote.”

“As to the principles and vote of the Missourians among us, and scattered throughout the Territory, so far as it is open to settlement, I have become satisfied that they are ‘mighty onartain,’ notwithstanding it has been confidently stated that the most of them, even nine tenths of them, are opposed to the introduction of slavery here. The fact is, they are entirely unreliable, can be tampered with by designing persons, and *will* vote from considerations of popularity, political place and authority, and money. We shall endeavor to pursue towards them a straightforward, consistent course, avoiding as far as possible all conflicts and collisions, and securing them, if possible, to the cause of freedom; but we know the power and influence of designing, wily politicians over such men.”

Such then is the hazard; such the trembling equilibrium on which hang all these vast interests for the future. Are we amiss in making strong appeals to our rich and benevolent citizens, to all the lovers of liberty, to throw their weight into the scale for freedom? Every effort is made, every efficient measure taken, by the Emigrant Aid Company, to facilitate the migration of



freemen to those regions, but they are deficient in funds. A few hundred dollars, from those who constantly pour them upon less worthy and urgent objects, will deliver this land of beauty from the corroding desolation of slavery, and cause it hereafter to exhibit to their eyes, or those of their posterity, a realm of immeasurable magnitude, rejoicing, through freedom, in an influence, an intelligence, and a glory, "such as eye has not seen, nor ear heard," nor has it "entered into the heart of man" to conceive.

J. P. B.

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ART. III. — THE LESSONS OF "HYPATIA." \*

THE beautiful romance of Mr. Kingsley has already received a notice in our pages; † nor should we make it again the subject of comment, but that some of the lessons it conveys appear especially worthy of consideration by our people at this time. We would adapt to the condition of our country the author's own thought, indicated in the title of his work, and remove the old masks which hang so loosely over the faces of our "New Foes." A few words, however, are due to the book itself. At the risk of repetition, we will briefly sketch its outline.

The scene is laid principally in Alexandria, early in the fifth century. The Roman Empire was then hastening to decay. Naught could save it from the fate which ages of oppression and corruption had destined for it. But ere it fell, it received in Christianity the source of a higher civilization for the new Europe, which should arise, phoenix like, from its ruins. Still, as the growth of Christianity kept pace with the decline of Rome, it was not unnatural that some should connect the two in their minds as cause and effect, or deem that a return to the old gods would bring back the old heroism and glory. Of such was Hypatia, the beautiful philosopher of Alexandria,

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\* *Hypatia: or, New Foes with an Old Face.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY, JUN., Rector of Eversley, Author of "Alton Locke," "Yeast," etc., etc. Second Edition. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1855. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 487.

† Number for January, 1854, pp. 141 - 145.

and hence arose a bitter hostility between her and Cyril, the ambitious patriarch of the Christians in that city. This resulted at last in the murder of Hypatia by a mob of the partisans of Cyril, under circumstances of the most atrocious barbarity. Our author has connected this event with the attempt of Heraclian, Count of Africa, to seize the throne of the feeble Emperor Honorius. Orestes, Prefect of Alexandria, designs to avail himself of this struggle, to shake off his own allegiance to the court of Constantinople, and assume the sovereignty of all the African provinces; and Hypatia, though detesting him, consents to accept his hand, and aid his rebellion, her object, as far as acknowledged to herself, being the overthrow of Christianity, and the restoration of heathenism. But Heraclian is defeated, and the Alexandrian plot, artfully countermined by Cyril, is allowed to reach its full development, only to be the more totally and disgracefully overthrown. Then comes the vengeance of the populace upon Hypatia. Other leading characters of the book are Philammon, a young monk from the Thebaid desert, in search of adventure, truth, and a long-lost sister, — Pelagia, the sister, a lady of easy virtue, who becomes in the end a recluse of extraordinary sanctity, — a party of Goths, who move among the dwarfed successors of ancient greatness with the port of the world's acknowledged masters, — and last, though not least, Raphael Aben-Ezra, an Alexandrian Jew, and his mother Miriam.

The interest of the work is not chiefly in the heroine, still less in Philammon, the apparent hero. Both are deficient in that humble attribute of common sense, which, though it does not of itself command our deepest sympathy, is yet essential to its development. Hypatia is too artificial, visionary, and weak. The conversation in which the prefect bends her to his will, at the sacrifice of pride, hatred, compassion, even of her philosophical and religious fanaticism itself, diminishes greatly our admiration, and almost repels our pity. Her own dreadful fate is contemplated with less emotion, when we have seen her enduring to witness the slaughter of the Libyans in the theatre, not indeed from innate cruelty, but at the command of ambition, urged by the voice of one whom she abhorred and despised, but whose anticipated throne she had resolved to share.

As to poor Philammon, coming from his monastic training-place to see the world, with no knowledge and much presumption, — now ready for any violence at the command of Cyril, and soon after forgetting his religion for the fantastic philosophy of Hypatia, — believing himself equal to anything, and succeeding in nothing, — we agree fully in the propriety of his final course, in returning to his desert. The world needed men in that age, if ever it did; but old Miriam was right when she told Philammon that he was not a man.

But the defects of these characters, though diminishing our interest in them as actors in the story, are but the natural results of the training each had received. It is not in ignorance and seclusion, or beneath a slavish discipline, that the true man is found; nor are the noblest women those who are trained by the lessons of a wordy philosophy.

The true hero of the book is Raphael Aben-Ezra. In him are exemplified the struggles of a refined intellect to attain the truth, amid the errors with which it is encumbered in a degenerate age. He engages our respect even from the first, and at length our deep sympathy and love. Cyril too, the proud and politic archbishop, — Orestes the prefect, whose indolence is only awakened to action by the hope of empire, but who, when thus aroused, works with as much cunning and as little principle as any man who ever overreached his own aims, — Victoria, the noble Christian daughter, whose bright faith raises Aben-Ezra's heart from "the bottom of the abyss," and gives him a hope and an aim for which to live, — the careless Amalric, the more thoughtful Wulf, the frail but loving Pelagia, — all these are creations of a high order of merit. We cannot say as much for Miriam, the old Jewish leader of the plot. In her the character of the soothsayer, almost the prophetess, the daughter of Solomon, and ruler among the rulers of men, is blended with so much that is revolting, that its dignity is lost; and we retain only a disgust, which makes us regret to find in her the mother of the noble Aben-Ezra.

The first lesson taught by the work before us is to beware of a philosophy which merges God in nature, virtue in sentiment, and common sense in a parade of words. Such philosophy is not now, thank Heaven! as rife among



us as it was some years since. The American mind was too practical for theoretic Germany to reproduce itself here for more than a short period, and the present Coryphæi of rationalism, whatever else they may be, are certainly not dreamers. They talk plain English, and with an energy which they learned neither in the Alexandrian nor in the German school. But the philosophy of which we speak has produced effects too mournful, in instances within our knowledge, for us to pass in silence the opportunity of bearing witness against it. It is intrinsically self-idolizing. It refers the man, not to a God above him, whose commands he is to obey, but to the guidance of an impulse within, which may be conscience, but which may also be passion. Its precept is, to "follow our own nature," — thus leaving the sensual-minded without restraint, and prompting those more gifted to an egotistic and exclusive pride. Such is its influence now, as when Hypatia wrote to Philammon, refusing to be the guide of the humbled Pelagia.

"I do not even blame her for being what she is. She does but follow her nature; who can be angry with her, if destiny have informed so fair an animal with a too gross and earthly spirit? Why weep over her? Dust she is, and unto dust she will return; while you, to whom a more divine spark was allotted at your birth, must rise, and, unrepining, leave below you one only connected with you by the unreal and fleeting bonds of fleshly kin." — p. 376.

Woman's Rights; — what lesson does "Hypatia" afford us on this much controverted subject? A most impressive one. It is, that we should do honor to female intellect, but place the restraints of discretion and natural fitness upon the sphere of its exercise. Here was a woman whom historians unite in describing as one of the noblest and purest of her sex, adding to the graces of person those of mental culture, and becoming the instructor of her age in intellectual philosophy. If the system she taught was not in itself the best, it was still philosophy; if the solid gold of Plato had been wrought out into glittering and unsubstantial filigree, it was still gold; and so long as the fair professor contented herself with the influence of her learning and her eloquence, in an occupation sanctioned apparently by the manners of her

age, she moved in safety, honored and beloved, though a heathen, among the turbulent thousands of the nominally Christian city. But when, in an evil hour, she descended to take part in political intrigue, then, in aspiring to the prizes of ambition, she shared its corruptions and its dangers. Her refined intellect became the disgraced tool of the masculine politician's coarser subtlety. Then followed the open sin and shame of that scene in the theatre, and the humiliation of the hour when, like many an enthusiastic woman since, she knelt to a mortal, believing him to be a god. We speak rather of these results than of her agonizing death; for a fate so tragic is too exceptional to be regarded as a warning, save in the general inference that they who measure the delicate organization of woman against the rude strength of man may have cause to deplore the contest they provoke.

We find portrayed in this volume the civilization that forgets justice and mercy, and read the warning that such a civilization must be near its doom. Well might Raphael warn Philammon to fly from Alexandria as from a second Sodom, after the murder of Hypatia; but not for that crime alone. That was but a partial, spasmodic result of the iniquity which was working inwardly in the refined and corrupted cities of the decaying empire. Human rights were sacrificed; wealth was adored; marriage had ceased to be honorable; piety, instead of boldly bearing witness against prevailing sins, retreated from them to the desert; the respect for authority had declined, for faction openly assailed the public peace, and those in power were indifferent to its protection. There needed no prophet to bear witness that the end was nigh.

Are there not in our country, which in its extent may vie with that ancient empire, signs of a civilization ripening towards decay? There are indications among us of a retrograde motion in regard to moral questions. Not many years since, there were few anywhere, North or South, ready to defend the institution of slavery. The common mode of expression was, that the evil had been entailed upon us; we regretted, but could not remove it. Now it is, in the language of many, a patriarchal institution, a necessary part of our organization, something which is to be retained and defended by the whole strength of our Union. Nay, foreign powers are regarded as in-

flicting an injury upon us, if it is surmised that they are ameliorating the condition of their own slaves, in such a manner as to make our plague-spot more lurid by the contrast. The military spirit that developed itself during the unhallowed war with Mexico has assumed a predatory character; and the exploits that are meditated have as little pretence of justice as any invasion that heathen Rome ever made. Meanwhile, how fearfully has the passion for gold extended itself! The spirit of adventure was formerly dignified by the prospect of honor as well as of pecuniary success; now the latter alone is the prize that allures the young and the enterprising to the ends of the earth. Neglect of principle in the struggle for wealth, and extravagance in its use when gained, are equally and lamentably prevalent. Was it in the fifth century only that signs like these marked a civilization verging to moral decay, and threatening in the result social ruin? Or does it need that a race should arise from the deserts to conquer us, as the Goths and Huns poured on the Roman empire of old, when we have among us a people kept in unjust bondage, and when a race scarce more enlightened are pouring in upon us by thousands from the inexhaustible island? If we prove unworthy of our freedom, we shall find enough to despoil us of it. "Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together."

"What am I to do with Saint Firebrand?" asked Orestes of Hypatia. Hypatia answered, "Justice." The prefect thought his fair philosopher's opinion the opposite of practical, and preferred a course which filled Alexandria with violence, and resulted in the destruction of Hypatia herself. It is thought by some that Saint Firebrand still lives, though Cyril has long since "gone to his own place." The Church which still owns him as a saint possesses all his ambition, all his zeal, and if less violence, a double portion of his craft. What are we to do in America with the Roman Catholic Church? It is undoubtedly the enemy of liberty, and its predominance among us most earnestly to be deprecated. A strong spirit of opposition to it has been aroused. This is natural and right; — but let those who share this spirit take heed whether they act on Hypatia's counsel, or imitate the conduct of Orestes. The prefect's course with the



Saint Firebrand of his day was one of alternate violence and cowardice, outrage and remissness. Is not that course in some degree imitated in a republic, where at one time a convent is burnt down, or a fanatic sustained in denouncing Popery in the street, and anon Catholic votes are courted, and Catholic foreigners encouraged to form separate military and educational organizations? Would not simple justice be a way worth trying? Would not the best "Know-Nothing party" be one which should know nothing of race or sect, but should insist on equal justice to all, and the strict execution of law against any, of whatever religion, who should infringe upon the rights of others?

But the Romish Church is not the only Saint Firebrand. Wherever men, in the name of religion, do evil that good may come, wherever they oppose wrong in others with a wrong spirit in their own hearts, there is the error and the sin of the turbulent Alexandrian patriarch. Here we must censure the course of some with whose motives we sympathize. The evil of slavery is poisoning our prosperity at home, and disgracing us abroad. It demands, more than aught else among us, the most energetic action for its removal. It demands, more than aught else, the union of all the wisdom, the forbearance, the piety of the country, in the contest against it. But on no subject are wisdom, forbearance, and piety so seldom invoked. The language of the North, which ought to be of Christian entreaty and persuasion, is too apt to be of unmixed denunciation; while the South, which suffers economically, politically, morally, from the blight of this evil thing, clings to it with insane fondness, and counts every one an enemy who seeks to open its eyes to the true aspect of the beloved deformity. Every outbreak of Southern wrath embitters Northern opposition; and every harsh censure from the North makes the South yet more untractable. When shall the man arise, eminent by commanding talents and by the illustrious station they have won for him, recognized as a friend by every section through the purity of his life and his superiority to every private aim, who will speak to the South in words of wisdom, courage, truth, and love, and become to our republic the Lycurgus of a far nobler polity than Sparta ever knew? Till he, in God's good time, shall

appear, let the eager friends of freedom take heed not to add needless difficulties to his arduous task.

Above all would we deprecate, in connection with this subject, the resort to violence, which, like that countenanced by Cyril in the fifth century, can but disgrace the cause it seeks to serve. Unhappily there is but too much occasion for the warning now. The Fugitive Slave Law is so odious, both in the aim it seeks and the means it employs, that many, not content with disowning all obligation to enforce it, feel justified in the resort to tumultuous, if not to armed resistance. The law is odious, and it ought to be. Its object is contrary to natural justice, and its means are opposed to the whole spirit of the legislation which characterizes the free Saxon race. To have the question of a man's liberty decided by a single magistrate, is not an English mode of action. It may be an Austrian one; and equally Austrian seems the spectacle of a city placed in a "state of siege" by command of its chief magistrate. But ere these things provoke us to forcible resistance, the question is to be settled in each one's mind, whether the time has come for revolution and civil war. Nearly all admit that such a time may possibly come, in this or in any country. The right of resistance to extreme and long-continued oppression is denied by few. But while the great remedy of the ballot remains, and while the press is free, we must not readily believe that such a crisis has been reached. When it does come, if ever, let it be met, not by mobs in our streets, but by deliberate action in our State legislatures.

There is no more ungovernable instrument than a mob. They who excite it soon lose their power to control it, as he who lights a conflagration cannot restrain its fury. Even should it, in one instance, be ruled by seeming moderation, this does but make the precedent more dangerous. Thus, in the book before us, when the patriarch gave orders for the attack on the Jewish quarter of Alexandria, so well had he organized his tumultuous force, that life was spared while property was plundered or destroyed; and the bold outrage, palliated as it was by the provocation which had been given, may have seemed to superficial observers in that age to be but a successful and not unmerciful achievement in the Church's cause. But the mob, once aroused, could be aroused

again. Fanaticism called forth to destroy property, thirsted next for blood; and though Cyril might say with truth that he would have given his right hand rather than the murder of Hypatia should have taken place, yet is he not held guiltless of that atrocious deed. Let those who counsel the tumultuous rescuing of a fugitive slave take warning from the ancient lesson and from its recent fatal illustration.

There is a mode of practically meeting the Fugitive Slave Law, which with all humility we would recommend as more Christian than that of mobs, armed or unarmed. It is, not to tear the slave from his captors, but to purchase his freedom. Let there be formed, in every city and village of the Northern States, Redemption Societies, —their simple object being to purchase the boon of liberty for every fugitive who shall have been remanded to slavery by legal authority. Let every Commissioner of the United States, and every lawyer, be furnished with the names of the agents of such societies. Let these organizations be kept distinct from all other objects, that men of all parties may unite in them. Let public opinion require it of every lawyer, that he shall not consent to act for the claimant of a fugitive, but upon condition of being authorized to accept the price of the man's liberty instead of the man himself. The amount necessary to be raised in any community would be trifling, the rather as affiliated societies would act in concert; the provisions of the law would be effectually met, the liberty of the fugitives secured; and while the South would be compelled to respect such peaceful and self-denying efforts, every Redemption Society would become a means of diffusing and deepening the opposition to slavery in the minds of its members, and of the Northern people in general.

We trace another lesson in the book before us, and it is closely connected with that which we have last considered. The author has interwoven with the fortunes of Hypatia the attempt made by Heraclian, Count of Africa, to wrest the sceptre of the West from the feeble and unworthy Honorius. Historians tell us that Heraclian cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber with a fleet of three thousand two hundred vessels. This unfortunate expedition, which destroyed in civil strife the flower of the Roman forces in Africa, prepared the way for the



subjugation of that part of the empire by the Vandals, and subsequently by the followers of the prophet of Mecca. Disunion consummated the ruin of the Roman power. Whatever other causes preceded, it was this that precipitated the work of destruction, — that the Christian empire wasted in internal feuds the strength which had so long kept the world in awe.

Is there no lesson in this for our country? We have recently learned to talk much more tranquilly than of old of the probability of our Union being dissolved. Do we consider what that expression implies? Our country is homogeneous. There is no Adriatic Sea, no Libyan Desert, to form a natural boundary between its sections. There is not, between regions which in such a shock must be sundered, for much of the distance, even the "narrow streamlet" which Childe Harold noticed as dividing Portugal from Spain, — nothing but the abstraction called "Mason and Dixon's Line." Under such circumstances, with the continual cause of strife presented by the escape of fugitive slaves, what can be anticipated but constant border feuds, resulting frequently in general war? Nor is our Union such that a division into two sections alone can with any strong hope be anticipated. When the national compact is to be remodelled among the Northern States, is it probable that New York will acquiesce in the continuance of the senatorial equality, which gives to her millions no advantage in the upper house over the thousands of Rhode Island? Or will New England consent to lose the advantage of her twelve senatorial votes? Other questions will arise between the East and the West. The Pacific States will soon feel the inconvenience of their distance from the rest, and follow the example of separation set them by the older sections of the country. Hence will result wars as ruinous as they will be unchristian, in the course of which all that was elevated in their origin will pass from sight. Peace, when at length re-established for a time, will probably take no cognizance of the claims of liberty, unless it be to disown them by re-enacting the Fugitive Slave Law. Nebraska and Kansas, being only accessible from slaveholding States, will be closed entirely to the Northern people; and a barrier, seemingly insuperable, be set to all efforts for the emancipation of the colored race.

Possessing a knowledge of the feelings and views of the Southern people, afforded by many years' residence among them, we have been astonished to find that any here regarded the dissolution of the Union as likely to promote the extinction of slavery. We know that in 1832 and 1833, when the politicians of South Carolina were exerting all their power to bring about a separation, the security of the institution of slavery was a chief object held in view. We remember hearing language used like this: "We dread nothing that the North can do against us, so much as Northern influence among ourselves. If we separate from the Union, we shut out Northern principles. As to our slaves, the very attitude we shall be in, of armed preparation against hostility from abroad, will effectually overawe them." The assertion has been made of late years, that the slaves are kept from insurrection by the fear of Northern bayonets. The fact is entirely otherwise. The slaves, when they think of the North at all, think of it as friendly. They are kept down by no fear of distant possibilities, but by the strong hand. The strict police regulations, the evening bell regulating their hours to be abroad, the military companies parading on every occasion of a fire, the prohibition of assemblies even for worship without the presence of a white man, the restrictions upon emancipation and education, and the suppression of all attempts to discuss the subject of slavery, — these are the means by which the South holds her captives; and these will but be rendered more stringent if a state of war arises. Nor will that war on the part of the Northern people have emancipation for its object, or even indirectly accomplish that end. If a civil war takes place, its management will not be in the hands of platform orators, but of practical soldiers and statesmen. The statesmen will avoid encumbering the questions in dispute with such an object as a change in the domestic institutions of the opposing States; and the soldiers will hesitate to overburden their commissariat without increasing their strength by inviting to their standard thousands of undisciplined and unarmed slaves. No. If the Union is dissolved, farewell to all hopes of emancipation.

For that great object the only successful labor must be that which is rendered in the spirit of Christ. Northern

principles must find their way into the Southern States; and they can effect this only by being presented in the language of reason, moderation, and true philanthropy. Dr. Channing's "Slavery" was, to our knowledge, read and admired by eminent Southern men, at its first appearance; and such appeals, if presented from the pulpit and the press, will meet attention, where angry denunciation would not for a moment be endured. Every Southerner who makes a summer visit to the North should perceive, where he offers to discuss the difference of institutions, that there is a generous appreciation of his difficulties, and charity even for his prejudices, blended with an intelligent and decided disapproval of the system he upholds. Every young man from the North who travels southward, should go, not as an emissary of insurrection, nor as a flatterer of oppression, but as a "free-man whom the truth makes free," qualified by what he has heard at home to look through all exterior polish to the real inward working of the evil. We have been sadly amused sometimes, in witnessing the rapid conversion of Northern visitors at the South, to an approval of the system whose actual operation they supposed themselves to understand. A brief experience of Southern hospitality, a few pleasant rides to some of the best-managed plantations, a few specimens of the noisy mirth which characterizes the undeveloped mind, and the grateful and delighted guest is prepared to defend the cause of slavery against all opponents. He thinks not of the treatment exercised over their dependents by the class of masters whom he has not seen, but whose existence he cannot deny without assuming that selfishness and want of feeling are qualities exclusively Northern; still less does he think of the mental deprivations and moral debasement of those who, with the stature and passions of men, are kept in an unnatural state of childhood; he thinks not of the marriage tie never recognized as legally binding, but reversed either at the caprice of the parties or at the will of the master. Such shallow observers notice not the reflective working of the institution, consider not that in a slave country a system of public schools is impossible, nor understand why South Carolina, with every advantage of climate, is less prosperous than her hardier sisters.

But we are wandering far from the book whose lessons



to us as Americans we have tried to trace. We cannot claim to have done justice to them all. Those which we have marked are merely such as all history confirms. Beyond the rest, the value of national union, the ruinous effects of discord, are witnessed to us by the annals of every confederacy, from the theocracy of Israel to the republics of Spanish America. God grant that the fate of our country may not add another fearful warning to the list!

S. G. B.

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ART. IV. — LIFE AND CHARACTER OF SYLVESTER JUDD.\*

SYLVESTER JUDD, the author of "Margaret," "Philo," and "Richard Edney," was born in Westhampton, one of the smallest and most interesting towns in this State, July 23, 1813. Prompted by a yearning for knowledge and by a most devout religious temper, he worked his way into and through Yale College, with the idea that he should become an Orthodox minister. But in his college life, and immediately afterwards, the cruelty and "dishonor" of the Calvinistic scheme forced themselves upon his attention, so as to bring him years of mental agony. His devout love of God, his consciousness that he had always loved him, and that God also loved him, made him a Unitarian; and, setting aside all his older wishes, he entered the Unitarian ministry. As soon as his theological course was finished he was settled at Augusta, Maine. Here he showed himself a most efficient philanthropist, a practical, working minister, and gradually achieved, at the same time, a much wider reputation, as the author who has best understood the New England character and best portrayed it in its nice details. He did this in books which will long be very invaluable parts of the discipline of New England's young men and women. And at Augusta he died, before he was forty years old, — at the very beginning, as he had

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\* *Life and Character of the Rev. Sylvester Judd.* Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Co. 1854. pp. 531.

fancied, of a course of high usefulness, of a life which seemed essential to the Church, and just as his influence was beginning to spread beyond the circle of his own parish and home.

It will prove, of course, as it always does, that he had not accounted rightly, in supposing that he was to exert such power by the spoken word, or by his living presence. It will prove, that, after his death, the good deeds he did will live after, him and that his service here will continue, while he is engaged also in the higher service of heaven. The book now before us will be the means of extending that influence. Like the *Life of Arnold*, or of *Mrs. Ware*, it will carry to many a home and heart a better knowledge of the man, and of the deepest wishes of his soul, than any casual interview could have done, — than any single sermon, or even than any book, which he could have written, less complete than this self-written record of his life. It is not a book for those only who have the same struggle to go through as his, when he renounced Orthodoxy. It is not for those only who have gone through that struggle, and rejoice in such sympathy. The story of such a life, uneventful without, but all crowded with events within, is a narrative to be read by every one who needs to rest more trustfully on God, or to consecrate himself more completely to his service.

From a collection of letters and journals unusually large, and still more unusually simple and true, a near relative, Miss Hall, has compiled an admirable autobiography. She knew him — it is very clear — wonderfully well. She knew his growth, his changes, and the great plans and hopes of his life. From his boyhood she had corresponded with him, and in his mature life must have been often with him in close personal confidence. We may say, also, that she has before now shown, in her modest publications on Education, a spirit in sympathy with some of his deepest wishes. In this book, she is certainly a very successful interpreter of whatever needs explanation in the letters, journals, or more elaborate essays from which she draws her materials.

In the limited space to which we must confine ourselves, we have no opportunity to give any account of the young life of the boy and college student, who in the atmosphere of a devout orthodox family, of "*Hopkins*"

Academy, and of Yale College, was preparing, without knowing it, to be a pillar of the Unitarian Church. It is not till after he has left college, that the uneasiness and distress which had crept into his religious life find relief, in his abandonment of the theology from whose inconsistencies they were born. No easy relief was this either. It involved the fear of wounding, to the very soul, father, mother, and all friends. And the announcement of his abandonment of the creed to which he was born is made in a long letter written to these dear ones at home. Most natural is this form of announcement. It shows the spirit of the man, — who all his life long plead for and prayed for the religion of home, — who used to say, "that it is a greater sin to neglect the family than to neglect the Church," — while no man lived who loved the Church more. This paper he styled "A Writing of the Heart," calling it, in language which did not seem strange to those for whom it was meant, a "Cardiagraphy." From this remarkable paper — which will not be lost sight of in the literature of the world's real theology — we extract the following passage: —

"Unbiased man, in his active emotions, must love the lovely, and hate the hateful; or love the hateful, and hate the lovely.

"Look into your own hearts, my friends, and tell me, do you find there dark despair, malignant hatred, insatiable envy, bitter cursings? There can be no half-way course. Whenever your feelings have been enlisted, it was either to love or to hate. Do you say that you loved the mercy, and hated the justice, of God? You may have feared punishment; but to fear punishment, and to hate God, are two very different things. Besides, if you had really felt that you deserved punishment, you would not hate God for punishing you. If you really felt that you did not deserve punishment, you could not have feared that you would have been punished. And more, if you had contemplated his character calmly and fully, you must have realized, that, if he was just to punish, he was as merciful to forgive; and even more so, from the fact that he still continued to you the means of grace. How could you, then, have hated him? Do you say that you still continued in sins, and therefore hated God? You were either happy in your sins, or you were not. If you were, you could not have hated God; for no man can be exercising feelings of hatred towards God, and at the same time be happy in anything. If you were not, if your sins were a loathing to you, you were in the very state to receive pardon from God; and how could you



then have hated him? If you were thoughtless about God, I have nothing to say. For the man who never thinks of God knows not whether he hates or loves him. But you say you spontaneously hated God. Back again upon all the horrors of original sin! Is it true that man's nature, *before actual sin*, is adapted to hate his God? Alas! alas! What infatuation possesses the human mind! How has man mistaken himself! How has he mistaken his God! O delusion, doubly damned, that causes our creed to give the lie to our consciousness, and makes the soul dig in *itself* its hell, and then lie down in its own suffering!

"But I turn from this gloomy prospect. I would escape from these dark ages of a deceived and deceiving theology. Truth and Love, twin angels of a better dispensation, are calling me away to their own bright home. 'God made man in his own image.' This declaration is reaffirmed by Daniel, Solomon, St. Paul, and St. James. The last says, 'Men are made after the similitude of God.' To discredit our Bibles is to deny our God. To be ignorant of ourselves is to enter upon the broad way of all error and all delusion. To know ourselves, and not act according to our natures, is supreme folly and unhappiness. To know ourselves, and yet willingly debase our natures, is rebellion against our Maker, and justly exposes us to his wrath. God has made us, and not we ourselves; and to speak freely of ourselves implies neither presumption, self-conceit, nor pride." — pp. 90-92.

It is delightful to know that this affectionate confession of faith, which seemed, perhaps, confession of heresy, was most kindly received by those for whom he wrote it. He had, before this, had the manliness to keep his life untrammelled, by rejecting a proposal which seemed tempting to these friends. The high reputation he had borne as a student, and, still more, as a religious man, at college, had earned for him, as soon as he graduated, an invitation to become Professor at Miami College. The position itself — if such positions were what their name imports — would have been most satisfactory. But he knew that, to accept it, would be to pledge himself to a restriction of opinion. For that reason he declined it. Without knowing that he was a Unitarian, — only knowing that, wherever he was, he must live free to form his own opinions, — he writes, "Feeling thus and thinking thus, you see that I could not become connected with an Old School Presbyterian College in Ohio."

So is it that our "literary institutions," our "semina-

ries of learning," lose the ornaments of our literature, — lose our best teachers, — lose our most godly men.

The Memoir shows, in a very interesting way, how his life developed itself more completely than it had ever done before, at Augusta, and formed its real culture in the surroundings of his happy home. In the Divinity School at Cambridge he was hard at work, — and in a more satisfactory way than ever before. But in its essence, his character was pre-eminently practical. The critics who called him "odd" or "transcendental," because he chose to drag in sometimes a forgotten word from Chaucer, did not know that the man himself was all awake to everything which could help the training of the daily life of the great mass of men. This characteristic, we infer from his letter, did not find its full nourishment in the Theological School. It was at home, and at work in the activity of Augusta, — a city which was just creating its giant water-power, just organizing its municipal government, just introducing the factory system, just developing its quarries of granite, when this reserved student of flowers and trees and birds and clouds and snow-storms was ordained as the minister of one of its churches. It proved just the place for him; and he, we should suppose, just the man for it. We well remember an account we have heard of his interview with some of our young men, not long out of college, soon after his settlement there. They were, perhaps, a little perplexed, in their first aspirations for life devoted to the Christian ministry, to find in our latitude, possibly in these pages, much discussion about the constitutions of councils, the organization of the Boston Association, and the principles involved in ministerial exchanges, as if these were the most important features of ministerial duty and life. They had not yet seen, as they ought to have seen, that all this talk was only straw floating, — and that, hidden deep beneath it, was, in fact, purpose as earnest, and devotion as sincere, as carries men to the heathen or to the stake. Tired of it, perplexed with it, this party of them met the young minister of Augusta. And the zeal with which he was at work there, — watching buildings, dams, quarries, machine-shops, and preparations for spinning, — deep in the study of factory life, before its detail was arranged in the place he loved, — a practical shepherd of the people,

as well as a practical poet dealing in wild-flowers, in evergreens, and the vines which should overshadow his parsonage,—all this zeal, as we have heard the story, was the revelation to them of what they had waited for, a Christian minister of the nineteenth century; and it sent these boys home better able to find the same purpose and effect among men and arrangements which they had not so well understood before.

Of this parish life the Memoir gives charming illustrations.

“Nothing in the progress of the local interests of the town escaped his attention. The costly experiment of its dam for facilitating various mechanical operations, its factories, its foundries, its ship-building, and all sorts of machinery, received his careful notice. And when Augusta assumed the attitude of a city, he deemed the event of sufficient importance and seriousness to demand a sermon upon the regulations requisite for promoting the physical and moral welfare of cities,—in the provision for an abundance of wholesome air, for the free inflowing of the light of heaven, for the bordering of streets with trees, the affording of ample space for gardens, and the securing of large, well-laid-out parks, where something of nature’s sweet influences might be enjoyed by those whose means limit them to the confines of the city.

“Improvements in house-building, as to taste, economy, and convenience, he sought to promote. He was thankful for Downing’s contributions to this purpose, and was one among the many who mourned his untimely loss as that of a beloved benefactor. His own pleasing cottage, the first of an improved style of building in the town, gave an impetus to ornamental architecture, which quite changed the appearance of its neighborhood. He studied carefully and philosophically the best principles on which to construct hot-air furnaces. He took great pains to obtain for himself, and to recommend to his neighbors, improved kinds of apples and other fruits, and garden vegetables.” — pp. 328, 329.

His zeal for innocent recreations appears in all his books. In his parish life, and his efforts in Augusta, are his experiments in that most difficult problem.

“He traced the course of intemperance in New England, in a large degree, to the fact that our worthy Puritan fathers *made no provision for the recreative wants of the people*. ‘The Puritans,’ he says, ‘shocked by the profane recreation in England, instituted nothing in its place. They practised no sports themselves; they offered none to their children. To establish a



system of recreation that would be at once satisfying and pure, enlivening and innocent, seems never to have entered their minds. They studiously refrained in their own persons from all kinds of agreeable diversion. Yet perhaps there never was a people in the world who stood in greater need of recreation than the Puritan colonists ; none upon whom the cares of life pressed so heavily. But recreation in some sort, man will have ; the laws of nature could not turn aside for Puritanism ; the necessities which God has implanted in our constitution could not be satisfied by the sternness of these Anti-Jacobites ; they were not stifled, they took a new turn, they broke out somewhere else. Our fathers, having discarded everything else, *betook themselves for recreation to the cup*. Denying themselves what was healthful and innocent, they made ample amends in what was ruinous and criminal. Here, then, we have laid bare one great secret of New England intemperance. Our fathers had no dances, no bowling-alleys, no sleigh-rides, no games of goose or backgammon, no promenades, no systematic holidays, no musical entertainments, no literary or scientific amusements, no pleasures of art, no ladies' fairs, no tea-parties, no Sunday-school celebrations, no rural festivals ; they never went to Niagara ; Saratoga was unknown ; their labors were arduous, their cares incessant ; and their only recreation consisted in the use of intoxicating drinks. Ministers, who denounced sports, drank rum ; magistrates, who inflicted penalties for light conduct, drank rum ; parents, who whipped their children for playing Saturday nights, drank rum. To take a glass of liquor was a cheap, summary, expeditious, unobtrusive way of self-recreation ; it gave offence to no one, it answered the demands of nature, it imparted a glow to the spirits, it relieved the sense of burden and fatigue, and lubricated all the joints of action ; its ulterior effects were not anticipated ; and those people seemed to themselves to have accomplished all recreative ends, when they had satisfactorily drank. Rum thus became the recreative element to our ancestors. If a man was tired, he drank rum ; if he was disappointed, he drank rum ; if he required excitement, he drank rum ; the elders drank when they prayed, the minister when he preached. Rum sustained the patriotism of the soldier and the fatigue of the ploughman ; it kindled alike the flames of devotion and the fires of revelry.

“ ‘ Thus, as I conceive, were laid the foundations for that enormous extension of intemperance which our own times have witnessed, and we have been called so often to lament.’ ” — pp. 315 – 317.

We were disposed to quarrel with the author's plan in separating her view of his “ Domestic Relations ” from the other chapters of the book. For his family life is all

interwoven with the rest of his life. In all "The Birth-right Church," one sees that he has been studying his own children; — as we may imagine a great master to crowd his picture of the Ascension with angel faces painted from the little ones of his own fireside. But as the reader passes from chapter to chapter here he finds this Home-Life through the whole book, — and the thirteenth chapter, to which is given this title, "Domestic Relations," does but unite a series of memoranda, which it would have been too bad to lose. Does not the character of the man peep out from his letters to his little ones even more than from his printed discourses, or "Lectures on the Beautiful"?

" *Belfast, Aug. 3, 1852.*

" My dear Children, — I arrived here after a ride of ten hours. I saw bunch-berries and raspberries upon the road. Mr. P., at whose house I am staying, has four nice children.

" You will love one another, and not contradict, or dispute, or lay your hands quick on each other. Feed the hens twice a day, and water them once. Do not trouble Laura [the servant]; help her all you can. Show Uncle H——i where you keep the matches. You must do what Aunt A. bids you. Look after that chicken of 'Norma's.' Say your Pater-noster with Laura and Aunt A. every morning.

" With great love, and God to bless you, I am your loving father." — pp. 503, 504.

Beneath every form of his exertion in a most energetic life, there runs the self-devotion and the love of Christ which marked the boy just entering college. In his College Journal there is an eager "consecration" of himself to Christ. Many a boy has written some such outburst, but the whole evidence of this book, in sadness or laughter or restlessness or work, shows that the spirit of this "consecration" lived in him persistently, — that he did not often need to renew those vows, — and that they found wider and wider fields of exercise as his mind expanded and his vision grew more clear. The list of titles given to his parish sermons shows how his allegiance to the Saviour found utterance.

" The theme most predominant was Christ, on whom he delighted to dwell in every phase of his character and relation to us. The following are some of these themes: 'The indwelling Christ; Christ to the believer; The remembrance of Christ; Christ the light of the world; Christ's sympathy with his people;

Christ's changing us into his image ; Christ passing through the veil ; The moral beauty of Christ ; Spiritual coming of Christ ; Christ the inspiration of Scripture ; Christ the hope of the world ; Christ the resurrection and the life ; Christ our righteousness ; Faith in Christ ; Christ the rock ; Christ the vine ; Christ and the scholar ; Christ the way, the truth, and the life ; Cross of Christ ; Christ a mediator ; Coming to Christ ; Christ and nature.' " — p. 287.

And in his public discussions at our conventions or at reform meetings he anchored to that rock, — and let every one know he did, — before on any side he brought his artillery to bear. Of peace, of temperance, of liberty, of Christian missions, of education, of free social intercourse, he was preaching, lecturing, writing, in season and out of season ; — and, on every such theme, the moment he got home to his central thought, it was " thus would Christ do," or " thus would Christ say." In the midst of a little tempest about a lecture of his on War, he felt that he had said all that was needed in these words : " He believes that, if Christ himself were now on the earth, he would never, for any pretext, reason, or motive whatever, engage in war."

In speaking lately of " *The Birthright Church*," a volume of his sermons published after his death, we attempted to warn the reader against supposing that his whole life was a " variation " composed on that one theme ; and to show that these discourses were the expressions, by the way, of a Christian workingman, who found in some ecclesiastical traditions hindrance in the immense work of the evangelizing of the world. This *Memoir* makes any such warning in the future completely unnecessary. It refutes also, in the most unconscious way, the impression, often sincerely entertained, that the Unitarian's faith is mostly a negative affair. Positive on every side was Mr. Judd's " *Unitarianism*." So real and energetic was his Unitarian theology, that he even loved the cumbrous name " Unitarian," which comes to us from the Latin of honored Polish martyrs. He would ring pleasant changes from its syllables, and compel the word itself to show how one God, a God of love, is in heaven and earth, and in the heart of man ; how impossible it is that God's child shall be born hating God ; or that God's word should teach a lesson of mis-



ery, and God's Son a lesson of redemption, while God is One.

"The doctrines of Unitarianism," he says, "what are they not? Whatever Christ taught, whatever prophet has uttered or martyr died for; whatever truth God from creation has been pouring, from the bright urn of central reality, over the realms of nature, or into the recesses of the soul, — these are its doctrines.

"Unitarianism expresses a great idea, the greatest and profoundest of theological ideas. If there be those who see in it nothing but sectarian partiality and narrowness, I am sorry; I do not. Considered as a name rejected by the multitude, and welcomed by the few, in that sense, perhaps, it is sectarian. But, considered as the name for God's everlasting truth, it is not sectarian. It expresses the highest truth of God, the universe, man.

"But what do I mean by Unitarianism? In what sense do I use the word? In its plain, natural, and strict sense; as expressive of the great unity that God is, that all things are in God; as expressive of this fact, that above the heavens and beneath the foundations of the earth, and through all space and time, God is, God sole and invisible; that Christ is no part of God or person of the Godhead, but is included in the circumference of the Unity of God. Before there was any Bible or any Adam, or any Christ, God was, one and indivisible; and out of this oneness or Unitarianism of God came the earth and its beauty, Adam and his fleshy nature, Christ and his spiritual nature, man and his immortal nature.

"I mean, then, by the term Unitarianism, that which expresses the spirit in which the Bible was conceived, and the only true method of its interpretation. I mean by it the unity, the harmony of God and man, time and eternity, religion and life, religion and recreation, religion and reason, religion and nature; the unity, the harmony of man and man, nation and nation, things angelic and things terrestrial; or, in the language of the apostle, all things in God.

"I believe that Christ came on this atoning, unifying, unitarianizing errand, to reconcile or make us all at one with God.

"I believe that sin is a departure from God, a breach in the unity that should subsist between the soul and God.

"I believe, that, in proportion as a man becomes, in the highest sense of the word, unitarianized, divinely unitarianized; in proportion as he enters into this harmony, and becomes at one with God; in proportion as he accepts the doctrine and realizes the power of the great Unity, he ceases to sin.

"I believe, furthermore, that the corruptions, errors, wrongs, and woes of the Christian Church were owing to the loss of its original Unitarianism.

"There is the unity of the Church. I yearn for it, I pray for it. I long to be united to my Methodist brother, and my Episcopal brother, and my Baptist brother, and my Calvinist brother, — my Trinitarian brother, of every name and sort.

"In the unity of God, the unity that Christ prayed for, in the unity that really subsists between all goodness, I feel that I can be, I feel that I ought to be. Heaven speed the time when I shall be! . . . .

"Standing on the eminence I now do, I seem to see the narrow horizon of our mortality extending away, and merging in the horizon of immortality. I seem to see, travelling up this steep of the Divine Unity, myriads of the human race, on their way to the seats of eternal blessedness, growing out of this unity of heaven and earth; I seem to see heaven encompassing earth, and seeking to irradiate our pilgrimage, and to breathe into our imperfect life some of its own loveliness and beauty.

"Clouds lower, and tempest falls, and darkness gathers; but God is the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever: his unitary love and goodness continue on, and by and by it will shine out as the sun. . . . .

"Our circle is wide. It includes all good men and women under heaven; it loves all whom God loves; it sends all good men to heaven, without regard to their speculative notions.

"We, as Unitarians, as liberal Christians, stand in the very centre around which, here on the earth, the great circle of the communion of saints must of necessity sweep; we are most peculiarly in the heart of the current of the Holy Spirit, along which, if I may so say, God is borne, and Christ, and the holy angels, and all the spirits of the just." — pp. 280 – 283.

We have no room to continue these extracts from a book which will prove invaluable. We leave them with the mortifying consciousness that they are so disjointed and few, as to show neither the book nor the man. But this is no great matter. The book will find its way into so many lives, it will soothe so much distress, it will set clear so many doubts, that we are more than ever reconciled to the loss of his unwritten books, — of which he loved to speak to his friends, and for which he was always preparing.

For, in fact, his plans of literary effort extended over everything. He was modest as to his own powers, and yet, if he could persuade no one else to write what he wanted written, he would attempt it himself, or at least lay out some plan for it in future. And he wrote always, — not to gratify any pride of authorship, but to meet what

seemed to him the necessity of the case, — because the book must be written. The enthusiasm with which "Margaret" was received by critics seeking for a real piece of "American literature," did not interest him or gratify him nearly so far as the response it has won from those who had been wandering in the dark like Margaret, and were glad of her finger to help them to the light. The newspaper critics wondered what he wrote "Richard Edney" for. He did not write it for them. He did not write it for reputation. He wrote it for country boys who have occasion to go to seek their living in large towns. It was just like him, that he wrote to his publishers to have part of the edition bound in "red cambric," that it might work its way, in cheap auction-rooms, into the hands of those for whom he made it. Certain people were troubled about "Philo," for fear it compromised his reputation. He did not care whether it did or not. They were worried because it was arranged on the machinery of Festus and Faust. Of course it was. But it was written, not to make a reputation, and with great indifference as to machinery, to show what is meant by "the second coming of Christ"; and we venture the suggestion, that any course of criticism on that subject is incomplete without a reference to this book, as a monograph upon it. With just the same spirit, he had in his mind a course of books for children, which he was anxious to write and publish, because he thought there was need of them. He had a dream of some day making out a sketch from the history of the Arians; convinced as he was that history would show that in the reign of the Arian emperors and Spanish kings civilization regularly advanced, — to fall back when they were driven from power. At one of our conventions he had just started on a speech full of interest, which was turning on this theme, when he was cut short by a suggestion that it was almost time for *dinner*! How bitterly mortified he seemed, as he walked home, that he should have intruded on so essential a duty! No plan was too wide for his industry to aim at. And when he went to work, the aim of his work was simply that of which we speak, — the real desire to bring light to the world, if it would only choose to read.

It happened, therefore, that the frameworks of his



books were quaint, unartistic, and wholly different from anything people were used to. They were all in some sense contributions to his own biography, the direct results or pictures of his own life. And it proved that his experience as a man was often so confounded with his projects as an author, that the careless reader pushed the book by as a "strange thing," of which he "could make nothing"; and, because careless, lost in this way the very influence which the author hoped to convey.

In this biography, — now that his unconsciously written papers speak to show us his life, with no story but his woven in, — there is no such difficulty. The boy's cumbrous, stilted letters, — the college student's journals and essays, — the minister's sermons, and the father's and husband's home, — all come before us here to give the picture, scarcely veiled at all, of a life on fire with the love of Christ and of God. We will not trust ourselves to speak of the value of such a picture, should it reach only two or three lives. We believe it is destined to have an influence far wider. Here is another, who, being dead, yet speaks to us. And the lesson is a simple lesson, unadorned, and therefore not blunted, of personal consecration to the Christian service of God.

E. E. H.

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ART. V. — CURTIS'S HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION.\*

It is well known that Mr. Webster designed to write the History of the Organization of the General Government and the Administration of President Washington. To its preparation he had hoped to devote his declining years, when he should finally withdraw from the cares and duties of public life to the cherished solitudes of Marshfield. But the leisure for the accomplishment of this hope never came. His last sickness found him still engaged in the active service of his country, — still bending

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\* *History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States; with Notices of its Principal Framers.* By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. In two volumes. Volume I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1854. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. and 518.

the unconquerable energies of his imperial intellect to the solution of great questions of international policy, or the more momentous questions arising under our domestic relations. Such a work as he proposed would have been a priceless legacy to all future generations. In it would have been garnered up the mature results of that far-sighted wisdom, and that profound acquaintance with the true principles of political science, which made him the greatest statesman of modern times. Its narrative would have been everywhere marked by that intimate and thorough knowledge of the secret history of the period, which he possessed in larger measure than any of his contemporaries. Its disquisitions would have been rich with the experience of forty years dedicated to the study of the Constitution in its practical working. Over the whole that spirit of wise and liberal conservatism would have presided which was the crowning glory of his character as an American statesman. His death added another name to the list of those great statesmen who have vainly hoped to write the history of their country. Neither Mr. Fox nor Sir James Mackintosh lived to complete the historical works that engaged their last years. Nor did Mr. Burke's *Abridgment* even reach the period regarded by Mr. Hallam as the commencement of the constitutional history of England.

Many years since, Mr. Curtis also formed the plan of a work on the origin and establishment of the Constitution, and embracing a part of the period covered by Mr. Webster's proposed *History*. This plan was submitted to that great man in the last year of his life, and met his warm approval, though no portion of the work itself was ever seen by him. "Being with him alone," says Mr. Curtis, "on an occasion when his physician, after a long consultation, had just left him, he said to me, with an earnestness and solemnity that can never be described or forgotten: '*You have a future; I have none. You are writing a History of the Constitution. You will write that work; I shall not. Go on, by all means, and you shall have every aid I can give you.*'" \* His death within a month after this conversation prevented that invaluable aid from being given. But under the sanction of his

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\* Preface, pp. vii., viii.

great name, and in the full knowledge of those broad and deep principles which guided his political career, Mr. Curtis has applied himself to the important work before him. The first volume of the History thus planned and executed comprises the Constitutional History of the United States, from the Commencement of the Revolution to the Federal Convention of 1787, and fully justifies the high expectation formed of it. The second volume, to be published hereafter, will be devoted to the actual formation of the Constitution.

The theme is a noble one. It has that unity of interest and that dignity in its various details which are essential to the composition of an historical work of the highest order. The narrow limits of time covered by it, the transcendent importance of the events included under it, and the wisdom and virtue of the men who took part in those events, all conspire to render it peculiarly adapted to the purposes of an historian. The creation of a government is the grandest work that can be undertaken by man in his social capacity. But when we consider the difficulties and the dangers — more formidable than Scylla and Charybdis — which beset the framers of our Constitution at every step, and when we contemplate the tremendous results that have flowed from their labors, — when we compare the feebleness and imbecility of the old Confederation with the strength and political importance of the Union as it now is, — the grandeur of the work accomplished in the formation of the Constitution becomes still more clearly apparent. Nothing ever attempted by man in the exercise of his highest intellectual powers approaches it in dignity or importance, — in the harmonious balance of conflicting agencies, and the successful working of all its parts. The constitution of England has been the slow and painful product of many ages of fierce struggle and of alternate victory and defeat. The constitutions which France has vainly essayed to establish have all signally failed, and left scarcely a trace behind them. Nowhere else, either in ancient or modern times, has the experiment of free, constitutional government been successfully attempted on a scale of equal magnitude.

In the preparation of his History, Mr. Curtis has neglected none of the advantages his subject offers to a phil-



osophical historian. He has bestowed upon it long and careful research. He has thoroughly mastered it in all its parts and relations, and under all its various aspects. His style is grave, dignified, and impartial in its tone. His narrative is full, clear, and minute. His disquisitions are sound, weighty, and carefully considered; and his characters of the prominent actors are singularly happy and discriminating. It is, however, in the broad sweep of his generalizations, and in his luminous arrangement, that his chief merit as an historian lies. In both of these respects, and in his general impartiality, he is unsurpassed by any of our historians. In his *History* there is no disproportion between the different parts, but every fact and argument stands in its true place and under its appropriate relations. The whole volume has a clearness and precision of statement and a polished vigor of language which leave little or nothing to be desired. Such further observations as we design to make on his distinctive merits as an historian will naturally occur in the course of the following remarks.

Mr. Curtis has divided his first volume into three books of different length, severally tracing the Constitutional History of the United States to the Adoption of the Articles of Confederation, to the Peace of 1783, and to the Federal Convention of 1787, and unfolding the causes and circumstances which rendered possible that consummate triumph of modern statesmanship and policy, the fusion of thirteen separate Colonies into one grand and powerful nationality. Previously to the Revolution, the Colonies had had few political relations with each other, and none of an intimate or extended character. "The sole instance," as Mr. Curtis observes, "in which a plan of union was publicly proposed and acted upon, before the Revolution, was in 1753-4, when the Board of Trade sent instructions to the Governor of New York to make a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians; and the other Colonies were also instructed to send commissioners to be present at the meeting, so that all the provinces might be comprised in one general treaty, to be made in the King's name." \* In pursuance of these instructions a convention was held at Albany, at which a plan of union

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\* Page 8, note.

was proposed by Dr. Franklin, and adopted; but it met with no favor either from the Colonial Assemblies or in England, and was not carried into effect. Nor was the attempt revived until the meeting of the First Continental Congress, after a lapse of more than twenty years. Yet the Colonies had some bonds of common sympathy, feeble though they were, and some recollections of glorious triumphs and disastrous defeats in a common cause. Most of them had been settled by Englishmen. They had had a similar history and experience, and had sometimes joined in the same enterprises. Many persons were still living in the various Colonies, who had stood side by side in the French and Indian wars. Above all, they were engaged in a common resistance to arbitrary power. The oppressive acts of the British ministry did not, indeed, weigh upon all the Colonies with an equal pressure, but they still rested upon all. Taxation without representation was as grave an assault on the popular rights and liberties in Virginia and the Carolinas, as in New York or in Massachusetts.

This last circumstance speedily produced its natural result. They who were suffering a common oppression perceived that resistance, in order to be effective, should be united. The harsh lessons of adversity taught them that in union alone is strength; and to the common danger they resolved to oppose a common front. It is not, however, known with certainty who first suggested the plan of a general Congress as a means of effecting a greater unity of action on the part of the different Colonies. Nor is this an important question, though one of considerable interest; since it is probable that a scheme of such manifest expediency must have occurred to several persons at about the same time. The first step which gave an actual impulse to the idea was a recommendation from Virginia to the other Colonies to choose delegates to meet at Philadelphia, in September, 1774. Massachusetts was the first to respond to this recommendation; and her example was immediately followed by the other Colonies, except Georgia, which was not represented in the first Congress. This assembly met on the 5th of September, and adjourned on the 26th of October; but it did little more than pass a few declaratory acts, and prepare the way for a successor. Yet it

led to a firmer and more united opposition to the aggressive acts of the British ministry, and thus fulfilled the purpose for which it was held. Above all, it was the first stage in a series of measures and events culminating in the formation of the Federal Constitution. Henceforth the Colonies were no longer to be separated and divided. They were to have at least the semblance of a union, feeble and imperfect indeed, but still a union, with a common name and a common object.

On the 19th of the following April a skirmish occurred at Lexington between the British troops and a small party of militia; and the accounts of this conflict, which circulated with astonishing rapidity through all the Colonies, added fresh fuel to the popular enthusiasm, and rendered all classes still more determined in their resistance to the aggressions of the mother country. In the midst of the excitement thus kindled, Congress met at Philadelphia, and took immediate steps to prepare the country for the civil war that now seemed inevitable. One of its first acts was the creation of a national army, and the unanimous choice of George Washington as Commander-in-chief.\* It next proceeded to issue bills of credit to the amount of two millions of dollars for the support of the army; established a Treasury Department; appointed a Postmaster-General; authorized post routes along the whole line of the Atlantic coast; and directed reprisals to be made upon the property of the inhabitants of Great Britain upon the high seas or between high and low water mark. It also recommended the arming and training of the militia in the various Colonies, and in several instances advised the people of particular Colonies to establish new governments; provided for the management of the Colonial relations with the Indians; and adopted other measures clearly establishing its character as a

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\* Mr. Curtis devotes several pages to an elaborate note on Washington's appointment as Commander-in-chief, in which he examines the conflicting statements of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. John Adams on the subject, with great thoroughness and ability, and, as we think, clearly establishes the fact, "that Washington was chosen Commander-in-chief for his unquestionable merits, and not as a compromise between sectional interests and local jealousies." The question is one of considerable interest and importance; but it is entirely aside from our present purpose, and we are compelled to leave it with this incidental reference.



revolutionary government.\* In summing up the history of these different measures, Mr. Curtis offers some weighty and well-considered remarks on the general character of the legislation of this Congress, which we take pleasure in citing at length.

"It is apparent, therefore," he observes, "that, previously to the Declaration of Independence, the people of the several Colonies had established a national government of a revolutionary character, which undertook to act, and did act, in the name and with the general consent of the inhabitants of the country. This government was established by the union, in one body, of delegates representing the people of each Colony; who, after they had thus united for national purposes, proceeded, in their respective jurisdictions, by means of conventions and other temporary arrangements, to provide for their domestic concerns by the establishment of local governments, which should be the successors of that authority of the British crown which they had 'everywhere suppressed.' The fact that these local or state governments were not formed until a union of the people of the different Colonies for national purposes had already taken place, and until the national powers had authorized and recommended their establishment, is of great importance in the constitutional history of this country; for it shows that no Colony, acting separately for itself, dissolved its own allegiance to the British crown, but that this allegiance was dissolved by the supreme authority of the people of all the Colonies, acting through their general agent, the Congress, and not only declaring that the authority of Great Britain ought to be suppressed, but recommending that each Colony should supplant that authority by a local government, to be framed by and for the people of the Colony itself.

"The powers exercised by the Congress, before the Declaration of Independence, show, therefore, that its functions were those of a revolutionary government. It is a maxim of political science, that, when such a government has been instituted for the accomplishment of great purposes of public safety, its powers are limited only by the necessities of the case out of which they have arisen, and of the objects for which they were to be exercised. When the acts of such a government are acquiesced in by the people, they are presumed to have been ratified by the people. To the case of our Revolution, these prin-

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\* When this Congress first met, neither Rhode Island nor Georgia was represented, but delegates from both Colonies subsequently appeared, and took part in its proceedings.

ciples are strictly applicable, throughout. The Congress assumed, at once, the exercise of all the powers demanded by the public exigency, and their exercise of those powers was fully acquiesced in and confirmed by the people. It does not at all detract from the authoritative character of their acts, nor diminish the real powers of the Revolutionary Congress, that it was obliged to rely on local bodies for the execution of most of its orders, or that it couched many of those orders in the form of recommendations. They were complied with and executed, in point of fact, by the provincial congresses, conventions, and local committees, to such an extent as fully to confirm the revolutionary powers of the Congress, as the guardians of the rights and liberties of the country. But we shall see, in the further progress of the history of the Congress, that while its powers remained entirely revolutionary, and were consequently coextensive with the great national objects to be accomplished, the want of the proper machinery of civil government and of independent agents of its own rendered it wholly incapable of wielding those powers successfully." — pp. 39 – 41.

All these measures tended surely and steadily to prepare the way for a far bolder and more important step, the Declaration of American Independence. The adoption and promulgation of this act, within a little more than a year after the meeting of Congress, imposed new duties and responsibilities on that body, severely trying its strength as a revolutionary government. To the discharge of these duties, however, it addressed itself with as much of promptitude and energy as was possible with its imperfect organization and the limited means at its command. On the 10th of June, 1776, the same day on which a committee was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, another committee was also appointed "to prepare and digest the form of a Confederation to be entered into between these Colonies." This committee reported certain Articles of Confederation on the 12th of July, which were discussed at different times during that year and in the early part of the following year; but it was not until the 15th of November, 1777, that they were finally adopted, with some amendments. Nor were they ratified by all the States until March, 1781. In the mean time all the legislative and executive power of the United States was nominally vested in Congress, with the whole charge of maintaining the army and waging war with Great Britain. Yet even in these

last two respects its hands were fettered by the injudicious course of several of the States in regard to the enlistment of soldiers. Mr. Curtis has devoted considerable space to this part of our history, fully and ably illustrating the difficulties under which Congress labored in carrying on the war, and clearly exhibiting the inherent defects in the system, which rendered some change essential to a successful prosecution of the contest. A part of the remarks with which he concludes his review of this period may be quoted here, as exhibiting the actual weakness of the government with much clearness and precision.

"We are now approaching," he says, "the period when the American people began to perceive that something more was necessary to their safety and happiness than the formation of State governments;—when they found, or were about to find, that some digested system of national government was essential to the great objects for which they were contending; and that, for the formation of such a government, other arrangements than the varying instructions of different colonies or states to a body of delegates were indispensable. The previous illustrations, drawn from the civil and military history of the country, have been employed to show the character and operation of the revolutionary government, the end of which is drawing near. For we have seen that the great purpose of that government was to secure the independence of each of these separate communities or states from the crown of Great Britain; that it was instituted by political societies having no direct connection with each other except the bond of a common danger and a common object; and that it was formed by no other instrumentality, and possessed no other agency, than a single body of delegates assembled in a Congress. For certain great purposes, and in order to accomplish certain objects of common interest, a union of the people of the different States had indeed taken place, bringing them together to act through their representatives; but this union was now failing, from the want of definite powers; from the unwillingness of the people of the country to acquiesce in the exercise of the general revolutionary powers with which it was impliedly clothed; and from the want of suitable civil machinery. In truth, the revolutionary government was breaking down, through its inherent defects, and the peculiar infelicity of its situation. Above all, it was breaking down from the want of a civil executive to take the lead in assuming and exercising the powers implied from the great objects for which it was contending. Its legislative authority, although defined in no written instruments or public charters, was sufficient, under its implied general pow-



ers, to have enabled it to issue decrees, directing the execution, by its own agents, of all measures essential to the national safety. But this authority was never exercised, partly because the States were unwilling to execute it, but chiefly because no executive agency existed to represent the continental power, and to enforce its decrees." — pp. 114–116.

Whilst the weakness of the national government was thus becoming daily more apparent, the different Colonies were engaged in forming State constitutions to supply the place of the charter and proprietary governments under which they had previously lived. Even before the Declaration of Independence, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Virginia, acting under the special recommendation of Congress, proceeded to frame new governments. "The constitutions of the other States," says Mr. Curtis, "were formed under the general recommendation of the resolve of Congress of May 10th, 1776, addressed to all the Colonies, which contemplated the formation of permanent governments, and dissolved the allegiance of the people to the crown of Great Britain."\* In framing these constitutions the Colonies had few difficulties to encounter compared with those which beset them when dealing with the more complicated interests of the whole country; and these difficulties were surmounted by the application of principles which they failed to extend to the solution of the far greater problem before them, though equally applicable to it. In all the Colonies the people had always enjoyed a large measure of liberty; and in some the existing frame of government was so well adapted to their needs, that little more was necessary than to conform its actual working to the theoretical change which made the popular will, instead of the pleasure of the crown, the ultimate source of all authority. Through their practical acquaintance with the operations of government, acquired in the colonial legislatures and the town meetings, they were able to construct State constitutions, providing for the exercise of all needful powers in the various departments of government. Few persons, however, as yet had cleared their minds of the prejudices growing out of local attachments and interests, and enlarged their thoughts to the study of

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\* Page 122, note.

national politics. It was not until time had shown the absolute necessity of a strong government, that a new race of statesmen, of far larger and more comprehensive views, was to arise and lay broad and deep the foundations of our civil liberty.

As we have already seen, several years elapsed between the adoption of the Articles of Confederation by Congress and their ratification by all the States. Eight of the States, indeed, ratified them in July, 1778; but the others withheld their assent, and it was not until March, 1781, that the measure was consummated by the acquiescence of Maryland. This delay is attributable to various causes, the chief of which was a claim to the exclusive possession by some of the States of large tracts of unoccupied land on the western borders of the Confederacy. Previously to the suppression of the British authority here, the title to these lands was vested in the crown; and it was contended by the States in which the crown property happened to lie, that by this act they had succeeded to the title. This plausible but unfounded claim was denied by the other States, who justly maintained that, inasmuch as these lands had been wrung from the crown by the common exertions of all the Colonies, they ought to be held by Congress as a common treasure, to be expended for the common benefit of all. "Reason and justice," said the Assembly of New Jersey, "must decide that the property which existed in the crown of Great Britain previous to the present Revolution ought now to belong to the Congress, in trust for the use and benefit of the United States. They have fought and bled for it, in proportion to their respective abilities, and therefore the reward ought not to be predilectionally distributed. Shall such States as are shut out by situation from availing themselves of the least advantage from this quarter be left to sink under an enormous debt, whilst others are enabled in a short period to replace all their expenditures from the hard earnings of the whole Confederacy?" For a time it seemed as though this difference of policy would prove fatal to the Confederacy. At length, however, New York, in a spirit of wise and generous concession, ceded to the United States a portion of her public lands for the common use and benefit of all the States; and encouraged by this liberal course, and

with the expectation that Virginia and the other States would follow her example, the Articles of Confederation were finally ratified by all the States and became the law of the land. Thus was consummated the first written constitution of the United States; and here our Constitutional History properly begins. The grandeur and importance of these concessions are well exhibited by our author in the following remarks which we quote entire. He says:—

“The historian who may, in any generation, record these noble acts of patriotism and concession, should pause and contemplate the magnitude of the event with which they were connected. He should pause, to render honor to the illustrious deeds of that great community, which first generously withdrew the impediment of its territorial claims; and to the no less gallant confidence of those smaller States, which trusted to the future for the final and complete removal of the inequality of which they complained. He should render honor to the State of New York, for the surrender of a territory to which she believed her legal title to be complete; a title which nothing but the paramount equity of the claims of the whole Confederacy ought to have overcome. That equity she acknowledged. She threw aside her charters and her title-deeds; she ceased to use the language of royal grants, and discarded the principle of succession. She came forth from among her parchments into the forum of conscience, in presence of the whole American people; and—recognizing the justice of their claim to territories gained by their common efforts—to secure the inestimable blessings of union, for their good and for her own, she submitted to the national will the determination of her western boundaries, and devoted to the national benefit her vast claims to unoccupied territories.

“Equal honor should be rendered to New Jersey, to Delaware, and to Maryland. The two former, without waiting for the action of a single State within whose reputed limits these public domains were situated, trusted wholly to a future sense of justice, and ratified the Union in the confidence that justice would be done. The latter waited; but only until she saw that the common enemy was encouraged, and that friends were disheartened, by her reserve. Seeing this, she hesitated no longer, but completed the Union of the States before Virginia had made the cession, which afterwards so nobly justified the confidence that had been placed in her.\*

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\* “After the Confederation had thus been formed by subsequent cessions of their claims by the other States, to use the language of Mr. Justice Story, ‘this great source of national dissension was at last dried up.’”



“The student of American constitutional history, therefore, cannot fail to see, that the adoption of the first written constitution was accomplished through great and magnanimous sacrifices. The very foundations of the structure of government since raised rest upon splendid concessions for the common weal, made, it is true, under the stern pressure of war, but made from the noblest motives of patriotism. These concessions evince the progress which the people of the United States were then making towards both a national character and a national feeling. They show that, while there were causes which tended to keep the States apart, — the formation of State constitutions, the conflicting interests growing out of the inequalities of these different communities, and the previous want of a national legislative power, — there were still other causes at work, which tended to draw together the apparently discordant elements, and to create a union in which should be bound together, as one nation, the populations which had hitherto known only institutions of a local character. The time was indeed not come, when these latter tendencies could entirely overcome the former. It was not until the trials of peace had tested the strength and efficiency of a system formed under the trials of war, — when another and a severer conflict between national and local interests was to shake the republic to its centre, — that a national government could be formed, adequate to all the exigencies of both. Still, the year 1781 saw the establishment of the Confederation, caused by the necessities of military defence against an invading enemy. But it was accomplished only through the sacrifice of great claims; and the fact that it was accomplished, and that it led the way to our present Constitution, proves at once the wisdom and the patriotism of those who labored for it.” — pp. 137 – 140.

The Confederation thus formed, amidst great difficulties and by great concessions, possessed powers at once more accurately defined and more limited in extent than those which might be supposed to belong to the Revolutionary Congress. Unlike that body it owed its existence to the union of separate and independent States; and by the Articles of Confederation the separate sovereignty of each State was expressly declared and recognized. Naturally enough, the States were reluctant to part with any of the attributes of this newly acquired sovereignty, and they withheld from the Confederacy some of the most necessary powers. Yet it possessed many powers of the utmost importance to the general good; and by the exercise of them it was

enabled to bring the war to a successful termination. Congress alone could declare war and make peace; negotiate treaties and alliances; send and receive ambassadors; grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace; and establish admiralty courts. It had power also to settle all disputes between the several States; together with the exclusive right and power of regulating the value and alloy of all coins struck by its own authority or by that of the separate States; of fixing the standard of weights and measures; regulating trade with the Indians; establishing post-offices and collecting postage; appointing all officers of the army except regimental officers; and making rules for the government of the army and navy. Finally, it had authority to appoint a "Committee of the States," consisting of one member from each State, to sit during the recess for the purpose of carrying on the necessary operations of the Confederacy.

Such, in a few words, were the principal powers conferred on Congress by the Articles of Confederation. But they were accompanied by numerous qualifications and limitations which greatly weakened their efficiency; and by the sixth section of the ninth article the exercise of the most important of them was expressly forbidden "unless nine States assent to the same." In two respects, however, the Confederation was especially defective. The whole revenue of the country, in the first place, was left under the control of the individual States, and therefore always liable to be affected by unforeseen circumstances. In the second place, Congress had no power to enforce the execution of its own acts. These two defects were destined to prove fatal to the Articles of Confederation as a frame of government; and, as we shall presently see, it was to them that we owe the formation of our present Constitution. In the mean time the Confederation, both by its strength and its weakness, was preparing the way for a more perfect union, and opening the minds of many to the contemplation of a larger statesmanship than they had hitherto conceived.

Mr. Curtis has wisely divided the history of the Confederation into two periods, — the first covering about two years and extending to the close of the war, and the other comprising the eventful years that preceded

the formation of the Constitution. In the first of these it was to be tried as a war government, and its most obvious defects were those connected with the conduct of the war. These defects were especially felt in raising troops and providing for their pay, and in the feeble and vacillating legislation in regard to the half-pay of the officers. In truth, there is no sadder chapter in our history than that which deals with this subject. But its very sadness only the more forcibly illustrates the weakness of a Confederacy, which had not the power to be generous, or even just, towards those who had served their country with such singleness of devotion. In the whole management of the finances, however, the feebleness of the government was equally manifest. With an immense debt, it had no means of paying the annual interest but by borrowing, and all attempts to secure the co-operation of the States in the necessary measures for raising either a permanent or a temporary revenue failed. To one of these attempts, however, Mr. Curtis ascribes the preservation of "the imperfect Union that then existed from the destruction to which it was hastening." \* Tried merely as a government designed for carrying on a war, the Confederation clearly showed that its powers were altogether inadequate to the energetic prosecution of hostilities.

But it was next to be tried in a severer ordeal. It was to be tried as a government for the management of the internal and external peace relations of the country. And here a signal failure awaited it, — a failure, indeed, that was not unforeseen by some of our most sagacious statesmen, and especially by Hamilton, whose marvellous acquaintance with political science, as Mr. Webster once observed, was exhibited at so early an age that we scarcely know when or where he obtained it. As early as 1780 he had fully comprehended the actual wants of the country, and recommended the adoption of measures to enlarge the powers of Congress; but the statesmen by whom he was surrounded had not yet risen to the same clear views, and his plan met with a temporary defeat.

"Convinced at length," says Mr. Curtis, "that no temporary expedients would meet the wants of the country, and that a rad-

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\* Page 188.



ical reform of its constitution could alone preserve the Union from dissolution, Hamilton surveyed the Confederation in all its parts, and determined to lay before the country its deep defects, with a view to the establishment of a government with proper departments and adequate powers. In this examination, he applied to the Confederation the approved maxims of free government, which had been made familiar in the formation of the State constitutions, and which point to the distinct separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial functions. The Confederation vested all these powers in a single body, and thus violated the principles on which the government of nearly every State in the Union was founded. It had no federal judicature, to take cognizance of matters of general concern, and especially of those in which foreign nations and their subjects were concerned; and thus national treaties, the national faith, and the public tranquillity were exposed to the conflict of local regulations against the powers vested in the Union. It gave to Congress the power of ascertaining and appropriating the sums necessary for the public expenses, but withheld all control over either the imposition or collection of the taxes by which they were to be raised, and thus made the inclinations, not the abilities, of the respective States, the criterion of their contributions to the common expenses of the Union. It authorized Congress to borrow money, or emit bills, on the credit of the United States, without the power of providing funds to secure the repayment of the money, or the redemption of the bills emitted.

"It made no proper or competent provision for interior and exterior defence; for interior defence, because it allowed the individual States to appoint all regimental officers of the land forces, and to raise the men in their own way, while at the same time an ambiguity rendered it uncertain whether the defence of the country in time of peace was not left to the particular States, both by sea and land; — for exterior defence, because it authorized Congress to build and equip a navy, without providing any compulsory means of manning it.

"It failed to vest in the United States a general superintendence of trade, equally necessary both with a view to revenue and regulation.

"It required the assent of nine States in Congress to matters of political importance, and of seven to all others except adjournments from day to day, and thus subjected the sense of a majority of the people of the United States to that of a minority, by putting it in the power of a small combination to defeat the most necessary measures.

"Finally, it vested in the federal government the sole direction of the interests of the United States in their intercourse with

foreign nations, without empowering it to pass *all general laws* in aid and support of the laws of nations ; thus exposing the faith, reputation, and peace of the country to the irregular action of the particular States.\*

“ Having thus fully analyzed for himself the nature of the existing constitution, Hamilton proposed to himself the undertaking of inducing Congress freely and frankly to inform the country of its imperfections, which made it impossible to conduct the public affairs with honor to themselves and advantage to the Union ; and to recommend to the several States to appoint a convention with full powers to revise the Confederation, and to adopt and propose such alterations as might appear to be necessary, which should be finally approved or rejected by the States.†

“ But he was surrounded by men, who were not equal to the great enterprise of guiding and enlightening public sentiment. He was in advance of the time, and far in advance of the men of the time. He experienced the fate of all statesmen, in the like position, whose ideas have had to wait the slow development of events, to bring them to the popular comprehension and assent. He saw that his plans could not be adopted ; and he passed out of Congress to the pursuits of private life, recording upon them his convictions, that their public proposal would have failed for want of support. ‡ ” — pp. 221 – 224.

The period which intervened between the Peace and the adoption of the Constitution was the darkest in the whole history of this country. Every year was making more manifest the evils which Hamilton's keen vision had so clearly foreseen ; and even now, after the lapse of two generations, we can scarcely contemplate the magnitude of the dangers that threatened the country without a shudder. Through extreme weakness we were to be made strong. With the close of the war the feeble bonds of sympathy arising from a united resistance to a common enemy had been still further weakened by the withdrawal of the greater part of the external pressure ; and many persons who had heretofore labored for the good of the whole country narrowed their minds to the study of State politics, and satisfied themselves with promoting the petty interests of a single State. All their views, feelings, and prejudices became narrow and local ; and in the pursuit of the limited objects of State policy they forgot or neglected the duties incumbent on them as cit-

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\* Life of Hamilton, II. 230 – 237.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

izens of the United States. This tendency in the statesmen of that day affected the common interests of the whole country in various ways, but chiefly in regard to raising a revenue, securing the performance of the stipulations in the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, aiding the States in the execution of their own laws, entering into treaties with foreign powers, managing the public lands, and governing the Northwestern Territory, and, above all, in preventing the successful adoption of measures designed to foster the commerce of the country.

As we have already seen, great difficulties had constantly beset Congress in its management of the finances. Even the great financial skill of Robert Morris had only partially surmounted them; and with the promulgation of peace they became more numerous and more difficult to be conquered. After that event the attendance upon Congress was so small and so irregular, that it seldom comprised a third of the members to which the States were entitled, and frequently one or two States were not represented. Consequently it was within the power of a very small minority to defeat the most important measures. Nor had Congress the requisite power to enforce these measures even when adopted by a unanimous vote. "From the 1st of November, 1781," we are told, "to the 1st of January, 1786, less than two and a half millions of dollars had been received from requisitions made during that period, amounting to more than ten millions. For the last fourteen months of that interval, the average receipts from requisitions amounted to less than four hundred thousand dollars per annum, while the interest alone due on the foreign debt was more than half a million." \* In addition to this, provision was to be made for the payment of large instalments of the foreign debt, as they should become due, and for the payment of the interest on the domestic debt. The current expenses of the government must also be met; military posts were to be established for the defence of the Indian frontier; the Mediterranean commerce was to be protected; and various other public duties were to be fulfilled. The money necessary to meet these various demands could only be permanently raised in one of two ways, — either by requi-

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\* Page 243.



sitions on the several States or by the adoption of a general impost system. The first scheme was thoroughly tried, and, as we have just shown, failed utterly. Congress, therefore, determined almost unanimously to recommend the second plan to the States for their acceptance. But it met with much opposition, particularly from the State of New York, which steadily refused its assent, and it was never adopted. Such was the financial condition of the country when the Federal Convention met. Such were its liabilities and such its resources.

But if the Confederation was powerless in its management of the national finances, it was equally powerless in the discharge of its other functions. By the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain provision was made for the early withdrawal of the British armies and fleets from the territory and waters of the United States; for the legal recovery of all debts contracted previously to the date of the Treaty; that Congress should recommend to the State legislatures the restitution of all property belonging to persons who had not borne arms against the United States, which might have been confiscated during the war; that no lawful impediment should be placed in the way of persons desirous of prosecuting their just rights in any confiscated estate; that no further confiscations should be made; that no prosecutions should be commenced against any person for the part he might have taken in the war; and that all such persons who might be in confinement should be immediately set at liberty. The propriety and justice of these provisions does not admit of question. Yet Congress was unable to enforce their performance; and the Treaty was openly violated both by the separate States and by Great Britain. When peace was declared, several States had laws prohibiting or suspending the recovery of the principal or interest of debts due to British subjects, or altering the legal tender in payment of debts. Subsequently the State of New York declared those inhabitants who had adhered to the crown guilty of misprision of treason, and incapable of holding office or exercising the elective franchise. And these laws, acknowledged by Congress to be infractions of the Treaty, continued in force for several years. On the other side, Great Britain violated the Treaty by carrying off a number of slaves, the prop-

erty of citizens of New York, and by maintaining garrisons in the Western country. To the complaints of Mr. Adams, then Minister at the Court of St. James's, she replied by the unanswerable argument, that we did not perform our part of the Treaty, and that she was ready to fulfil her stipulations when we should show a determination to perform ours. Thus matters continued for several years, in an unsettled and dangerous state, and with no immediate prospect of settlement. The same want of a paramount authority in Congress was also felt in our relations with other European nations.

In the mean time, the occurrence of Shays's Rebellion, in Massachusetts, was illustrating the weakness of the general government in another way. At the close of the war nearly all the States were suffering under the pressure of heavy debts contracted in its prosecution, and trade and commerce were everywhere prostrated. In these respects the New England States, and especially Massachusetts, had borne their full share of suffering; and the difficulties under which they labored were aggravated by the presence of a numerous body of lawless and disaffected persons, who sought to improve their condition by the overthrow of all existing institutions. These persons were most numerous in Massachusetts, and here they finally broke out in rebellion against the State government. As early, indeed, as 1782, "a levelling, licentious spirit, a restless desire for change, and a disposition to throw down the barriers of private rights, broke forth in conventions, which first voted themselves to be the people, and then declared their proceedings to be constitutional. At these assemblies, the doctrine was publicly broached, that property ought to be common, because all had aided in saving it from confiscation by the power of England. Taxes were voted to be unnecessary burdens, the courts of justice to be intolerable grievances, and the legal profession a nuisance."\*. These persons, however, did not confine themselves to noisy and empty declamation, but collected in mobs around the court-houses, sought to intimidate the judges, and committed other acts of violence. Finally, in the autumn of 1786, they took arms to the number

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\* Page 269.

of about fifteen hundred men, under the command of Captain Daniel Shays, and for a time seriously threatened the safety of the State government. These disturbances formed the subject of discussion in Congress, and it was generally admitted that that body had no right under the Articles of Confederation to interfere in the contest. This decision was unquestionably correct, but it revealed a most important defect in the frame of government, and one that endangered the liberties and property of the whole people. It insured, however, the future adoption of that section in the Constitution, which provides that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence."\* Thus, by availing themselves of all the lessons of a painful experience, were the framers of our Constitution enabled to perfect that wonderful instrument, with its manifold provisions of a far-sighted wisdom.

Another deficiency in the Articles of Confederation, which became obvious to every one at a very early period, was the absence of any authority for the regulation of commerce. Even as far back as 1778, and whilst the whole subject was still under discussion, the State of New Jersey had brought this matter to the notice of Congress, and ably represented the importance of granting to the new government the exclusive regulation of the foreign trade of the country. But the other States were not yet prepared to make this cession, and the management of the delicate questions connected with it was left partly with Congress and partly with the several States. No more fatal mistake could have been committed by the framers of the new compact; and the evils inseparable from such an arrangement speedily exhibited themselves in various forms. They were most seriously felt, however, in the negotiations for a commercial treaty with Great Britain. When the Coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North took office in April, 1783, some progress had been made in the arrangement

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\* Art. IV. Sect. 4.



of a plan for the temporary regulation of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and this country. But the change of ministers was followed by a change of policy. The new ministers not only refused their assent to Mr. Pitt's plan, but they also refused to enter into any commercial treaty. On the contrary, they determined "to deal with this country as a collection of rival States, with each of which they could make their own terms, after the pressure of their policy, and the impossibility of escaping from its effects, had begun to be felt. They accordingly began, by excluding from the British West Indies, under Orders in Council, the whole American marine, and by prohibiting fish, and many important articles of our produce, from being carried there, even in British vessels."\* To this heavy blow upon our commercial interests, or to any more injurious measures which might succeed, Congress had no power under the existing frame of government to oppose any retaliatory legislation. An attempt was, indeed, made to procure from the State legislatures a grant of the necessary power to meet this emergency; but it failed through the irreconcilable conflict in the provisions of the different acts passed for this purpose.

In the government of the Northwestern Territory, also, Congress early felt the want of adequate and well-defined powers. This immense and fertile tract had been originally ceded to the United States upon certain specified conditions for its future use and government, and Congress had accepted the trust upon those conditions. In fact, within two months after the cession by Virginia of the principal part of this territory, — on the 23d of April, 1784, — Congress passed a resolve providing for the establishment of temporary and permanent governments by the settlers, and for the admission into the Union of such new States as might be formed in accordance with the provisions of the act. But the rapid growth of the Territory in population and importance rendered further legislation necessary, and on the 13th of July, 1787, Congress passed the famous Ordinance for the Government of the Northwestern Territory. Though in some respects transcending the powers actually

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\* Page 284.

vested in Congress, it abundantly fulfilled its design, and merits all the praise that has been bestowed on it as a masterpiece of human wisdom and foresight. The name of its framer, Nathan Dane of Beverly in Massachusetts, will never pass from the memory of men so long as a single State exists in all that broad region. But in another and scarcely less important act the general government was less fortunate. Immediately after the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain was promulgated, Spain notified the United States of her claim to the exclusive right of navigating the Mississippi River. In the negotiations with Spain which followed, this question formed a chief difficulty, and was more than once referred to Congress. In the first instance, Mr. Jay, at that time Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was instructed not to enter into any treaty yielding our claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi; but subsequently these instructions were rescinded, and early in the autumn of 1786 he agreed to an arrangement suspending, but not relinquishing, the right claimed by the United States. Early in the preceding summer, however, certain American property which had been carried down the Mississippi was seized by the Spanish authorities; and the report of this act, which rapidly spread through the West, kindled an intense popular excitement. This excitement was still further increased by the negotiations with Spain then progressing; and for a time it seemed as though we were on the brink of a rebellion which would sunder the Northwestern Territory from the Union. Fortunately, however, at this juncture the Convention of 1786 met at Annapolis, and adopted those measures which resulted in the assembling of the Federal Convention; and perceiving only too clearly that a large addition to the powers of the Confederation was needed, Congress determined to postpone for the present the further discussion of so difficult and complicated a question. Thus matters remained in abeyance until after the formation of the Constitution.

In the foregoing remarks and illustrations we have endeavored to exhibit as clearly and briefly as possible the chief defects in the Confederacy, and to show its entire inadequacy to the wants of the country, either in time of war or in time of peace. We have now reached a pe-

riod when all parties were rapidly becoming convinced of this fact, and were beginning to discuss the proper remedy for existing evils. The first important step in this direction, and towards enlarging the powers of the general government, was taken by the State of Massachusetts, which early in 1785 passed resolutions recommending a convention of delegates from all the States for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and of reporting to Congress what alterations were necessary in order to strengthen and perpetuate the Union. These resolutions were followed by no immediate result; but after considerable discussion of the subject, the legislature of Virginia, on the 21st of January, 1786, appointed eight commissioners to "meet such commissioners as may be appointed by the other States in the Union, at a time and place to be agreed on, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situation and trade of the said States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony; and to report to the several States such an act relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States in Congress assembled effectually to provide for the same."\* New York soon followed her example, and appointed delegates to attend the proposed Convention; and all but four of the States adopted the same course. But when the Convention met at Annapolis, in the following September, it was found that only four States were actually represented. Under these circumstances it was not deemed advisable to adopt any decisive measures; and after agreeing upon a report drawn up by Hamilton, the Convention adjourned. This report recommended a new Convention, to consider the situation of the country, and "to devise such further provisions as might appear to be necessary to render the Constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union," and was at first received with but little favor throughout the country. But gradually the opposition to it yielded; and its recommendations, with some changes, were acceded to by Congress, who, in the early part

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\* Page 345, note.



of 1787, resolved that it was expedient for a convention to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May following, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." \* In accordance with the terms of this resolve, the Convention met at Philadelphia, on the 14th of May, 1787, and, after choosing Washington as its President, entered at once upon the discharge of the difficult and delicate task assigned it.

At this point the narrative portion of Mr. Curtis's first volume closes; but to it he has added notices of several of the most distinguished members of the Convention. Among the statesmen thus commemorated are Washington, thrice happy in his fame as a warrior, a statesman, and a patriot; Hamilton, the most sagacious and far-sighted of all who took part in the formation of our Constitution; Madison, one of the most enlightened and practical of the great men whom Virginia has given to the service of the whole country; Franklin, the statesman, philosopher, and man of sterling sense; Gouverneur Morris, bold, energetic, and brilliant; Rufus King, the accomplished lawyer and diplomatist; and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, almost equally distinguished as a lawyer, a scholar, and a statesman. One or two extracts must suffice to show how finely their characters are discriminated. Speaking of Hamilton, Mr. Curtis says:—

"His great characteristic was his profound insight into the principles of government. The sagacity with which he comprehended all systems, and the thorough knowledge he possessed of the working of all the freer institutions of ancient and modern times, united with a singular capacity to make the experience of the past bear on the actual state of society, rendered him one of the most useful statesmen that America has known. Whatever in the science of government had already been ascertained; whatever the civil condition of mankind in any age had made practicable or proved abortive; whatever experience had demon-

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\* Page 362, note.

strated; whatever the passions, the interests, or the wants of man had made inevitable, — he seemed to know intuitively. But he was no theorist. His powers were all eminently practical. He detected the vice of a theory instantly, and shattered it with a single blow.

“His knowledge, too, of the existing state of his own and of other countries, was not less remarkable than his knowledge of the past. He understood America as thoroughly as the wisest of his contemporaries, and he comprehended Europe more completely than any other man of that age upon this continent.\*

“To these characteristics he added a clear logical power in statement, a vigorous reasoning, a perfect frankness and moral courage, and a lofty disdain of all the arts of a demagogue. His eloquence was distinguished for correctness of language and distinctness of utterance, as well as for grace and dignity.

“In theory, he leaned decidedly to the Constitution of England, as the best form of civil polity for the attainment of the great objects of government. But he was not, on that account, less a lover of liberty than those who favored more popular and democratic institutions. His writings will be searched in vain for any disregard of the natural rights of mankind, or any insensibility to the blessings of freedom. It was because he believed that these can be best secured by governments in which a change of rulers is not of frequent occurrence, that he had so high an estimate of the English Constitution. At the period of the Convention, he held that the chief want of this country was a government into which the element of a permanent tenure of office could be largely infused; and he read in the Convention — as an illustration of his views, but without pressing it — a plan by which the Executive and the Senate could hold their offices during good behavior. But the idea, which has sometimes been promulgated, that he desired the establishment of a monarchical government in this country, is without foundation. At no period of his life did he regard that experiment as either practicable or desirable.

“Hamilton's relation to the Constitution is peculiar. He had

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\* “While these sheets are passing through the press, Mr. Ticknor writes to me as follows: ‘One day in January, 1819, talking with Prince Talleyrand, in Paris, about his visit to America, he expressed the highest admiration of Mr. Hamilton, saying, among other things, that he had known nearly all the marked men of his time, but that he had never known one, on the whole, equal to him. I was much surprised and gratified with the remark; but still, feeling that, as an American, I was in some sort a party concerned by patriotism in the compliment, I answered with a little reserve, that the great military commanders and the great statesmen of Europe had dealt with larger masses and wider interests than he had. “Mais, Monsieur,” the Prince instantly replied, “Hamilton avait deviné l'Europe.”’”

less direct agency in framing its chief provisions than many of the other principal persons who sat in the Convention ; and some of its provisions were not wholly acceptable to him when framed. But the history, which has been detailed in the previous chapters of this work, of the progress of federal ideas, and of the efforts to introduce and establish principles tending to consolidate the Union, has been largely occupied with the recital of his opinions, exertions, and prevalent influence. Beginning with the year 1780, when he was only three-and-twenty years of age, and when he sketched the outline of a national government strongly resembling the one which the Constitution long afterwards established ; passing through the term of his service in Congress, when his admirable expositions of the revenue system, the commercial power, and the ratio of contribution, may justly be said to have saved the Union from dissolution ; and coming down to the time when he did so much to bring about, first, the meeting at Annapolis, and then the general and final Convention of all the States ; — the whole period is marked by his wisdom and filled with his power. He did more than any other public man of the time to lessen the force of State attachments, to create a national feeling, and to lead the public mind to a comprehension of the necessity for an efficient national sovereignty.

“ Indeed, he was the first to perceive and to develop the idea of a real union of the people of the United States. To him, more than to any one else, is to be attributed the conviction that the people of the different States were competent to establish a general government by their own direct action ; and that this mode of proceeding ought to be considered within the contemplation of the State legislatures, when they appointed delegates to a convention for the revision and amendment of the existing system.\* ” — pp. 410 – 413.

To this we have only room to add a short extract from our author's sketch of Madison. In speaking of this illustrious man, he says : —

“ As a statesman, he is to be ranked, by a long interval, after Hamilton ; but he was a man of eminent talent, always free from local prejudices, and sincerely studious of the welfare of the whole country. His perception of the principles essential to the continuance of the Union and to the safety and prosperity of the States, was accurate and clear. His studies had made him familiar with the examples of ancient and modern liberty, and he had carefully reflected upon the nature of the government neces-

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\* “ See his first speech in the Convention, as reported by Mr. Madison.”



sary to be established. He was one of the few persons who carried into the Convention a conviction that an amendment of the Articles of Confederation would not answer the exigencies of the time. He regarded an individual independence of the States as irreconcilable with an aggregate sovereignty of the whole, but admitted that a consolidation of the States into a simple republic was both impracticable and inexpedient. He sought, therefore, for some middle ground, which would at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and leave the local authorities in force for their subordinate objects.

"For this purpose he conceived that a system of representation which would operate without the intervention of the States was indispensable; that the national government should be armed with a positive and complete authority in all cases where a uniformity of measures was necessary, as in matters of trade, and that it should have a negative upon the legislative acts of the States, as the crown of England had before the Revolution. He thought, also, that the national supremacy should be extended to the judiciary, and foresaw the necessity for national tribunals, in cases in which foreigners and citizens of different States might be concerned, and also for the exercise of the admiralty jurisdiction. He considered two branches of the legislature, with distinct origins, as indispensable; recognized the necessity for a national executive, and favored a council of revision of the laws, in which should be included the great ministerial officers of the government. He saw also, that, to give the new system its proper energy, it would be necessary to have it ratified by the authority of the people, and not merely by that of the legislatures.\*

"Such was the outline of the project which he had formed before the assembling of the Convention. How far his views were modified by the discussions in which he took part will be seen hereafter. As a speaker in a deliberative assembly, the successive schools in which he had been trained had given him a habit of self-possession which placed all his resources at his command. 'Never wandering from his subject,' says Mr. Jefferson, 'into vain declamation, but pursuing it closely, in language pure, classical, and copious, soothing always the feelings of his adversaries by civilities and softness of expression, he rose to the eminent station which he held in the great national Convention of 1787; and in that of Virginia which followed, he sustained the new Constitution in all its parts, bearing off the palm against the logic of George Mason and the fervid declamation of Mr. Henry. With these consummate powers were united a pure

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\* "Letter to Edmund Randolph, dated New York, April 8th, 1787."

and spotless virtue, which no calumny has ever attempted to sully.\*

"Mr. Madison's greatest service in the national Convention consisted in the answers which he made to the objections of a want of power in that assembly to frame and propose a new constitution, and his paper on this subject in the *Federalist* is one of the ablest in the series." — pp. 428 – 430.

Here we must terminate for the present our review of the early constitutional history of this country, and of Mr. Curtis's admirable work upon it, but with the hope of resuming the subject at no distant day. In these remarks we have endeavored as briefly as possible to exhibit the causes and circumstances which led to a union of the thirteen Colonies before the establishment of a single State government, to trace the history of the Revolutionary Congress and of the Confederacy, with its feeble and inefficient powers, to its virtual fall, and to narrate the events which prepared the way for the formation of the Constitution. It had now become apparent that no merely federal compact was adequate to the wants of the country. It had become necessary for the people to ordain and establish a Constitution for the United States, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." And now, to accomplish all this, that great doctrine of the paramount authority of the general government in all conflicts with State laws and regulations — under God, the strength and salvation of this Union — was to pass out of the region of abstract ideas into the domain of organized facts. Upon that rock was the Constitution to be founded, to stand as a beacon light to the ages, and to shed abroad its benign influences over the whole land. The more we meditate on the subject, the deeper becomes our admiration of that consummate work of human hands, and the more thoroughly are we persuaded that in the preservation of the Constitution as it is, and of the Union as it is, rests the last hope for free institutions on earth.

C. C. S.

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\* "Jefferson's Autobiography, Works, I. 41, edition of 1853."

## ART. VI. — THE MCLEAN ASYLUM, SOMERVILLE.

O HOUSE of Sorrows ! How thy domes  
Swell on the sight, but crowd the heart ;  
While pensive Fancy walks thy rooms,  
And shrinking Memory minds me what thou art !

A rich, gay mansion once wert thou ;  
And he who built it chose its site  
On that hill's proud but gentle brow,  
For an abode of splendor and delight.

Years, pains, and cost have reared it high,  
The stately pile we now survey ;  
Grandeur than ever to the eye ; —  
But all its fireside pleasures, — where are they ?

A stranger might suppose the spot  
Some seat of learning, shrine of thought ; —  
Ah ! here alone Mind ripens not,  
And nothing reasons, nothing can be taught.

Or he might deem thee a retreat  
For the poor body's need and ail ;  
When sudden injuries stab and beat,  
Or in slow waste its inward forces fail.

Ah, heavier hurts and wastes are here !  
The ruling brain distempered lies.  
When Mind flies reeling from its sphere,  
Life, health, ay, mirth itself, are mockeries.

O House of Sorrows ! Sorer shocks  
Than can our frame or lot befall  
Are hid behind thy jealous locks ; —  
Man's Thought an infant, and his Will a thrall.

The mental, moral, bodily parts,  
So nicely separate, strangely blent,  
Fly on each other in mad starts,  
Or sink together, wildered all and spent.

The sick — but with fantastic dreams !  
The sick — but from their uncontrol !  
Poor, poor humanity ! What themes  
Of grief and wonder for the musing soul !



Friends have I seen from free, bright life  
Into thy drear confinement cast ;  
And some, through many a weeping strife,  
Brought to that last resort, — the last, the last.

O House of Mercy ! Refuge kind  
For Nature's most unnatural state !  
Place for the absent, wandering mind,  
Its healing helper and its sheltering gate !

What woes did man's own cruel fear  
Once add to his crazed brother's doom !  
Neglect, aversion, tones severe,  
The chain, the lash, the fetid, living tomb !

And now, behold what different hands  
He lays on that crazed brother's head !  
See how this builded bounty stands,  
With scenes of beauty all around it spread.

Yes, Love has planned thee, Love endowed ; —  
And blessings on each pitying heart,  
That from the first its gifts bestowed,  
Or bears in thee each day its helpful part !

Was e'er the Christ diviner seen,  
Than when the wretch no force could bind —  
The roving, raving Gadarene —  
Sat at His blessed feet, and in his perfect mind ?

N. L. F.

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ART. VII. — A ROMAN BEATIFICATION.\*

IN addition to the regular religious festivals which make the closing months of the Roman year so brilliant, the authorities of the Church have for a few seasons past favored the Catholic public and the strangers in the Eternal City with extra spectacles called "Beatifications." *Sanctifications* are more rare. The calendar is already

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\* *Ristretto della Vita del B. GIOVANNI GRANDE, dello Peccador, Religioso Professo dell' Ordine di S. Giovanni di Dio.* Roma: G. A. Bertinelli. 1853. 18mo. pp. 87.

too crowded to allow frequent admissions of new candidates; and the brothers of more than one holy order in Rome informed us, in pathetic and despairing tone, that they had waited long in vain for the votes of the Sacred Conclave to confirm what the voice of Heaven had decreed, and had about given up the hope of seeing their favorite names in the authorized list of the saints. A *Saint* has a day set apart for his special honor, and may have churches named after him. A *Beato*, on the contrary, — though sure of honor in the celestial world, though safe folded among the sheep, — is on the earth only consigned to that vast, nameless company who are remembered on the first day of November. His prayers may be then implored, and his intercession with the Judge and the Father will have weight. For this secondary honor there is always a large supply of claimants. The Church here is embarrassed by its riches. If its heavenly forces should at any time fall short, it can easily meet the demand without pressing any new recruits into its service. It has to impose hard conditions to keep down the zeal of its house in this direction. Without absolutely rejecting most who are offered, it holds them in suspense so long, that a beatification suit in the High Court of St. Peter is as just a synonyme for vexatious delays as a suit in the English Court of Chancery.

The spectacle of "Beatification" is very brilliant and magnificent. It contains all the usual feast-day attractions, — delicious music, gorgeous processions, candles innumerable, arranged into symbolic figures, — and has, besides, some peculiar shows and features. St. Peter's Church is the place where, and Sunday is the time when, the ceremony comes off. At the morning mass, in which a Cardinal Archbishop leads, the preliminary proceedings are briefly stated, a panegyric on the favored mortal thus decreed to be an angel is delivered by some brother of his monastic order, (for the candidate is almost always either a monk or a nun,) the Pope's bull is read in a sonorous voice to the assembled crowd, the cannon roar for half an hour from the Castle of St. Angelo, the answering choir roll forth their jubilant anthems, and to excited imaginations heaven seems opened to receive its new inhabitant. To the canons and staff of the cathedral, the official representatives of the various orders, and

the prelates of the Church, who attend in their appropriate costume, are handed copies of the life of the Beato and of the Pope's bull, engrossed on fine paper or on parchment and splendidly bound in vellum. To the monks, the inferior clergy, and strangers furnished with tickets who are able to get seats within the choir, a cheaper edition is distributed, and the multitude outside the rail may buy in the *piazza* in front of the church, for five *baiocchi*, an abridgment, containing, in a dozen pages or so, a concise account of all the miracles and other important facts of the authorized edition.

At vespers the service is still more imposing. The Pope, with a long train of cardinals, attends to ratify the acts of the morning, the illumination is doubled, the immense pictures painted for the occasion are exhibited in more intense light, and a regiment of soldiers lends the flash of its bayonets and the splendor of its uniform to the religious scene. In the choir of the church alone two thousand candles, of length varying from two to ten feet, are simultaneously burning, and a glittering garland of light is the frame to the portrait of the Beato, which is hung just above the chair of St. Peter. The parting view of that wondrous blaze, as you leave the church by the doors at the foot of the nave, is of unsurpassed grandeur, and never to be forgotten. The vesper service is all of chant and song; but the ancient chords of Pergolesi, borne up by the lighter operatic airs and cadences of the modern Italian music, fill all those solemn vaults, and shake the air with their tremulous sound. The crowd is greater than in the morning. On the two occasions when we witnessed the spectacle, it was estimated at not less than fifty thousand. The service is prolonged till nearly nightfall, when the unwilling throng slowly disperse, saluting as they pass the well-worn toe of the bronze Pagan image baptized St. Peter, and covered on this day with a robe of colors and gold. All who can afford it invest their coppers in small engravings and medallions of the new celestial intercessor, which, worn about the neck, shall retain him as their advocate in the courts above. The supply of special comfits is not small, and a brisk business is carried on through the day in the usual religious wares, in all the streets leading to the cathedral.



There are some wise advisers of his Holiness who doubt the policy of shows of this kind, and some prudent ones who are troubled by their cost. They are certainly too expensive an amusement to be often repeated with an exchequer so empty. But the people are accustomed to such shows, and the government will not disappoint them. If it may not give them bread, it will give them at least *games*, — half of the ancient imperial boon. Yankee festivals include always something for the palate; even of Thanksgiving, the dinner is more characteristic than the prayers; while, in Rome, the festival dinner of a beatification day is a handful of roasted chestnuts. If the peasant have enough of candles and colors and music, he is content with that spare diet. The actual cost of one of these spectacles, as we were informed by a Jesuit father, is not less than three thousand dollars. He thought it a grave question, whether the returns of faith and piety were adequate to such an outlay.

The first thing which a heretic will do, after rescuing himself from the excitement of such novel splendor, will be, of course, to investigate the causes which have led to it, and find what it means. He will remember how the pictures were garnished with mysterious inscriptions, hinting at some underlying prodigy. He will recall certain passing expressions in the sermon of the morning, which seemed to assert more boldly that miracles had not ceased from the Church, but were multiplied by God in its behalf. And if he have been able to take his attention from the scene around, and fasten it on the preacher's words, he will have gathered enough to know that miracle is the basis of this ecclesiastical act.

It was quaintly observed, in a dispute which we heard some years since, that there "had always been a demand for miracles." In Rome that demand is not speculative merely, but pressing and practical. The demand continues, and the supply seems equal to the demand. The Capuchin gossip deals in this as a regular article, and as you walk through the lone chapels beneath the Church of St. Mary on the Pincian Hill, the friars will regale you with new tales of wonderful works which these bones have done. All miracles, certainly, which are repeated as facts in Rome, are not alike canonical. The authority even of a priest cannot compel the faithful to receive

them as gospel. It is a pleasing proof of a believing heart that one accepts them, but one is not reckoned a heretic for listening impatiently to the stories of supernatural works which glorify the Bambino of the Ara Cœli. When, however, the verdict of the Church has settled the genuineness of these wonders by canonizing their author, they enter into the substance of faith, and it is scandalous, not to say blasphemous, to question them. An original Catholic, who has been brought up in familiarity with miracles, finds no difficulty in believing them. To him they are natural events of another kind, — merely the ordinary variations of law which set religion and religious men apart. Logical inconsistencies do not vex him in the matter. He quite rejects the traditional formula, that God will not interpose, unless for some dignified and extraordinary end. He is only amazed that the Protestant should be so amazed. The things which appear such palpable absurdities to the latter are credible enough, every-day affairs, to the former. We well remember the surprise of a Dominican friend at our incredulous reception of his statement that the Holy Cross had the power of *self-multiplication*. What we suggested as a pleasantry, he asserted as a fact. Converts, however, have a sore trial in being forced to consent to these miraculous facts, and get very nervous when you talk with them on the subject. The Church has a way provided of vanquishing their scruples, but they know that their Protestant friends must be laughing at them.

We detain our readers by these preliminary remarks too long from the life of John Grande, surnamed Peccador, or "the Sinner," who was solemnly beatified in St. Peter's Church on the second Sunday in November, 1853. Read with faith, that life is a remarkable one, for the catalogue of its marvels and its graces rivals in length the story of Jesus as the Evangelists give it. Read sceptically, it is a literary curiosity. Uncle Tom's Cabin in most parts of the world, even in Arabia, is so regarded. But the Romans, hindered by the ban of their literary censors from the reading of this famous book, have curiosities of literature as great, in the lives of their own saints, as the story of black Tom and little Eva. With one of the elements of the success of that tale, however, they are practically very familiar. Most of their modern

saints and missionaries are selected from the humbler classes, and come forth from obscurity to receive high religious honors. When John Grande was presented to the authorities in Rome as worthy to sit on the Saviour's right hand, it is not probable that a single cardinal or bishop knew of his existence. The excellence of his character, barely failing of perfection, and the abundant prodigies which justified it, could not surprise them, for in this matter they had ample precedent. It is antecedently probable that an unknown monk will exercise heavenly gifts to supply the lack of his earthly fame. The Pope and his prelates are conspicuous enough without such gifts, and may earn heaven by their ability or their eminent service.

Our notice of John Grande shall be short, and we will dwell only on the marvellous side of his life, only on those peculiarities which could to the public mind sanction the bull of Pius concerning him. His birth, which took place at Carmona, in Spain, on the 6th of March, 1546, scarcely a fortnight after the death of the heretic Luther, was sanctified by an act of humility which seemed to prophesy the wonders about to occur. Pressed with the agonies of parturition, his mother, after running for some time up and down, sought the stable, and in a manger gave birth to her son. Nothing is said about the visits of Magi or the songs of angels, but it is recorded that a supernatural light shone through the rude shed, and made them remember Bethlehem. The infant piety of John was consistent with the promise of his birth. For some months before this event his mother had been accustomed to fast every Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The instinct of the babe preserved these sacred days, and he refused upon them to take his natural nourishment, except for a few moments at the hour of noon. His parents, being very religious, confided him at an early period to the charge of the sacristan of the parish, that his first lessons might be of the offices of the altar. In these he became speedily distinguished. Masses were his favorite pastime, and when other boys, released from school, rushed to profane play, he hastened with equal zeal to the altar of the Virgin to pour out his prayers. The sacristan, finding him there one day with the candles lighted, reproved him for the waste of wax, and



suggested that rehearsals of piety ought to be economical. But the boy answered that the candles "burned without consuming," and proved visibly that all his sport in that kind did not impoverish the Church.

Conflicts with Satan are the lot of all saints, and John had his share of them. His victories were gained in the regular way, by mortifications, fastings, and liberal flagellations. Slightly scandalized by the second marriage of his pious mother, he turned to commerce, was bound apprentice to a merchant in Seville, and suffered the trials incident to mercantile life. But the Virgin objected to his so throwing himself away. In a vision, she appeared, holding a coat of sackcloth, and sweetly indicated the style of life which the youth should adopt. The Devil in the guise of avarice sought in vain to hinder her call, and John left his merchandise, home, and friends, to bury himself for a season in a secluded hermitage. Extreme austerities here attested his holiness. His humility rejected the family name of "Grande," or Great, and substituted that of "Peccador," or the Sinner. After a short sojourn in his hermitage, he was warned in a vision of the night to repair to Xeres, on the frontiers of Andalusia, and commence there a work of more active piety. With a commendable prudence, he took counsel of a friendly priest before he obeyed the heavenly vision. The Catholic biographies always take care that miracle shall not hinder or supersede the regular means of religious influence.

The first missionary work of the Peccador was done in the prisons of Xeres. It was zealous, and dangerous too;—the prisoners were at times obstreperous, and John suffered enough at their hands to dispense with private flagellations. After three years of this service, Jesus, in another vision, directed his servant to change his field of labor to the hospitals. His fidelity in this field met with a similar reward. He got few thanks from the poor whom he helped, and the envious officials in more than one instance succeeded in ousting him. His friends, however, at last procured him a special hospital, in which he was able to carry out unmolested all his plans. Public confidence increased. Others craved a share in the work. The Peccador became, almost before he knew it, the head of a new monastic order. The

name adopted was that of *Fatebene Fratelli*, or "the Benevolent Brotherlings," — the rule, that of St. John of God, which had recently been confirmed by the Pope. The special work of the order was charity. For twenty-one years the first head of the order was spared to preside over its enterprises and inspire it with his ardent love of souls, and instruct it by his consistent example. Amazing is the narrative of his "heroic humility," — his extraordinary penitence and patience, — his singular love of poverty, chastity, and obedience, — his burning devotion to God, — his toilsome devotion to his neighbor, — all illustrated by pleasing facts. In proof of his humility we have his haircloth raiment, his board bed and his stone pillow, his state of perpetual semi-starvation, his public acts of penance; in proof of his patience we have his conflicts with foes demoniac and human, who might torment, but could never weary or subdue him. The latter class, it may be remarked, were apt to die suddenly, as it is proper that all enemies of holy men should die.

The extravagant raptures of the Peccador on feast days were edifying to witness. It seemed that he would go mad with the love of God. Not less remarkable was it, that, giving away so much to the poor, he should always have something to give. One or a hundred, it made no difference, — he managed to feed them all. The Scripture story of the loaves and fishes seemed to be newly exemplified in his arrangements of charity. While he fed and clothed them, he brought to them also the bread of life, and dispensed portions of the Catechism at the daily meals. Now the promise of his birth-time was more than fulfilled, and signal miracles attested his worth. In consideration of the "brevity required in a compendium designed to give only an idea of the virtue of the Beato for the common edification of the faithful," the biographer limits himself to a "very few" out of the vast number of prodigies "proved and public" in the life of his subject. But even the number of these few we are compelled to abridge.

Transfiguration is a frequent and favorite Catholic miracle, and it was desirable of course that it should happen to the Peccador. In his case it was several times repeated. The places are especially mentioned, and the

circumstances minutely dwelt upon. The miracle took place usually in the churches and in Holy Week, when numbers were able to see the body of the good father "floating in the air," and radiating light so brilliantly from the face, that it seemed as if the whole church were on fire.

Inspiration is another needful gift for a Beato. The Peccador had abundance of it, and the best theologians of Xeres confessed that they had learned more, in a short conference with him, about the mysteries of faith, than in all the books and schools. He was particularly skilled in explaining the Trinity. He was great in prophecy, predicted deaths and births with exact mention of the day and hour, told what offices his friends would get, what accidents would happen to them, and was as brilliant a clairvoyant as any biologist could desire. He saw things miles away or years ahead, told Doña Beatrice de Vargas just what the English were doing and would do to her imprisoned husband, and how the wound on his head looked; and would, if he had been consulted, have told to King Philip II. the manner of the destruction of the Invincible Armada, all of which he distinctly foresaw before the expedition sailed. His own death, the time, the place, the disease, and the manner of burial, were elaborately foretold; and his "dear brother Peter Egiziaco" stood ready to affirm that the prediction corresponded exactly to the fact.

Visits of saints, angels, the Virgin, and Christ were very regular and numerous. Men were able to *see* the guardian angel which accompanied the Peccador to save him from temptation and insult. We are told of severe punishments which came to those who took advantage of his religious ecstasy to play practical jokes upon him; how a lady's hand, for instance, was withered, when she just sportively laid it across his opened mouth. In miraculous cures the saint's life was redundant. The most obstinate and desperate diseases yielded to the sign of the cross and the name of the Virgin. The voice of this monk was more effective in healing than the physician's dose or the surgeon's knife. Nor is the crowning miracle in this kind wanting. Lest we be thought to trifle with the credulity of our readers, we quote from the original; and, be it observed, we quote not from Le Roy Sun-



derland or Barnum's autobiography, but from an authorized document, which we received on a high feast day from the hands of a canon in St. Peter's.

"This theme will recall the way still more marvellous in which John consoled a mother desolate in the death of her only son. Moved by the sharp cries which he heard in passing the house, he went in; and when he saw the cause, he lifted his eyes to heaven, and, leaning over the little corpse and marking it with the sign of the cross, said, 'I command you in the name of Jesus and his Holy Mother, rise!' — and at these words the boy, as if awakened from a gentle sleep, drew breath again, lifted himself, sat, and stretched out his hands to his stupefied mother, amid the wonderings and the thanksgivings of a multitude of bystanders."

After the detail of these high prodigies, it is hardly fit to come down to those more obvious which accompanied and immediately followed the death of the Peccador. Various saints, and particularly St. Agnes the Martyr, who was a great friend of John, announced to him that his death was near. Songs of paradise invited him up to the celestial world. And when the plague came to Xeres, the good apostle trusted that his time had come. The infected found death very sweet and desirable, if he were at hand to close their eyes, and he longed to die with them. He was not disappointed. After assisting hundreds of others, he was struck down by the epidemic. The angels took care that in his case it should not be contagious, and preserved from harm all who approached him. It enters not into our plan to detail the singular coincidences of his last hours, and the violence of public grief when the loss was made known. These may be imagined easily, since they invariably happen in the lives of the saints. There is, however, a striking incongruity between what is related of this public grief and what is told of the actual burial of the Peccador. The style of this was vulgar in the extreme. Four street porters tied a rope round the feet, let the body down into a ditch, tumbled earth upon it and then trod it together with their feet. So the prophecy was fulfilled, but decency most grossly outraged. The excuse that the brethren gave for allowing it so to be buried was that they were all too frightened to attend to it.

It gave a chance, besides, for a "glorious translation

of the body," one of the most popular and profitable of Catholic religious customs. It is well enough for a saint's remains to be thrown at first into a ditch, but it will never do for them to lie there. A convenient prodigy enabled the brethren to discover the place. The earth of that ditch refused to contain the body and ejected it to the surface. The exercises of the translation were splendid: a great crowd of citizens and strangers came to witness them, moving orations were delivered, and the church of St. Sebastian became a shrine where penitence and gratitude vied in rendering honors to one whom God had visibly sealed. Time did not dim the lustre of the Peccador's fame, and the Archbishop of Seville had the delightful duty, under the sanction of Urban VIII., of collecting, sorting, and counting the miracles which had glorified so holy a life. He was embarrassed by their number, more especially when the divine efficacy of the relics began to be shown, and it appeared that in the dry bones even there was a sacred force. And the series of contemporary miracles, which lacked one variety to make it perfect, gracefully closes with an account of an escape from shipwreck in the Gulf of Lyons, in which, to the prayer of one of his former brethren, the blessed John in person responded, appeared on the top of one of the waves, stilled their fury by a menacing gesture, and enabled the bark which bore a cardinal to come safely into port.

These miracles happened long enough ago to be historic, not to say legendary. No contradiction to them was, or is, likely to appear. But to warrant a beatification, it is necessary that something more modern in that way should be offered; and the closing chapter in the book which we have noticed gives two of this description, which are recognized as sufficient reasons for the solemn decree. The first is the case of Anna Lucia Petrofanti, a poor peasant woman of Tivoli, — given over as hopeless by the physicians, with a complication of diseases, ague, fever, and dropsy, — cured by fervent prayers to an image of John Peccador, which the brethren of the convent of Fatebene Fratelli had given her. She was just dying at night, and she was quite well in the morning. This miracle took place in 1776. The second case, which happened in 1780, is still more striking, and

should be preserved in the records of surgical wonders. We regret that our limited space will not allow us to relate it minutely. We can only refer the curious to pages 79-82 of the volume. One Generoso Mariani, surnamed Anche Anche, got into a street fight at Tivoli, in which his throat was cut, trachea, œsophagus, and all, — with the addition, moreover, of a wound in the breast. The wound in the neck was considered mortal. Nothing that the surgeon could do would hold it together. In those days collodion was not known. But the fathers of the convent bethought themselves of the miraculous image, brought it to the sufferer, applied it to his neck, and the wound directly firmly and perfectly healed. No scar was visible and the man was as well as ever the next morning. "Such are the miracles" (we quote here from the book) "which, among so many presented to the discussions and the verdict of the Sacred College of Rites, were approved for the cause of the beatification." And this is the decree, dated September 27th, 1852, — that "the servant of God, John Grande, monk of the Order of St. John of God, shall be named hereafter with the title of Beato, and his body and sacred relics (not to be borne in public processions) may be publicly exposed to the veneration of the faithful."

We shall add no reflections, obvious as such are, on these almost grotesque facts of Catholic faith. The strangest thing about them is that they are facts, and specimens only of what is believed by the masses and authorized by the rules of the Roman Church. We make sport of the absurdities of the Apocryphal Testament. And occasionally we wonder at the report of some fanatic delusion like the worship of the Holy Coat at Treves, which has gross imposture for its basis. But when we get near to the acts of the Church, we find that the sale of Indulgences, which so shocked Luther, is but a mild form of falsehood compared with the most solemn ordinances which Pius IX. yearly signs. We have not written in a trifling spirit, but with a serious design of stating facts which may affect the judgment of our readers concerning the Church of Rome. To other points of the discipline and system of that Church we may hereafter recur. At present we can only say,



that no story of miracle can be invented, so preposterous that it may not be overmatched by what is received, sanctioned, and magnified in the Sacred City to-day.

C. H. B.

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ART. VIII. — NORTON'S INTERNAL EVIDENCES OF THE  
GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.\*

THE late Mr. Andrews Norton — a name ever to be cherished in the grateful and respectful regards of all liberal Christians — sought in his life to be of service to the world when his own brief existence, which was further shortened by feeble health, should close. His natural gifts were of eminent value; his laborious attainments were solid and precious; his qualities of mind were those most desirable in a scholar; his taste and his circumstances alike fitted him for a life of retired study; and his profound convictions of the vital necessity of a well-grounded religious faith, and that God had given a revelation to the world by Jesus Christ, made him a profoundly serious and conscientious disciple and teacher of truth. The whole labor of his mature life was heartily and perseveringly devoted to the study of the Christian Scriptures. Probably no man on this continent, we might say even in Christendom, ever pursued a more thorough or deep examination into the foundations of the Christian faith than did he. He wished to search that sacred stream at its very spring. He would never receive anything from a secondary source of information when he could go to the original source. If any statement was presented to him in discussion or argument, through the medium of a translation or a quotation, he felt bound to verify it. As year after year he pursued the critical study of the text of the New Testament with successive classes of theological students, he would examine every valuable work that threw light upon

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\* *Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.* — Part I. *Remarks on Christianity and the Gospels, with Particular Reference to Strauss's "Life of Jesus."* — Part II. *On the Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels; being Portions of an unfinished Work.* By ANDREWS NORTON. 8vo. pp. 309.

Biblical science, with the grammar and the lexicon to help, but not to supersede, his own investigations. He would sift testimonies and authorities, and practise a most painfully accurate and discriminating scrutiny, to secure himself from all influences that might impair the value of his results. His sense of responsibility in the expression or publication of opinions on matters affecting the interests of religion, and so involving the solemn relations of man and of society, guided him through all his works, and caused him to withhold them from the press for years after they had been apparently completed. Whenever we take in hand a volume from his pen, we feel that we have put ourselves under the instruction of one who will impart his views in the most intelligible language, and who believes that an unguarded assertion or an ill-considered argument on a religious subject is a heinous sin.

Mr. Norton left at his death the manuscripts of works on which he was known to have spent years of intense study. Two of these are now passing through the press, though neither of them will be in the hands of our readers as soon as this page is published. From copies of the works which we have enjoyed the great privilege of perusing, we can make an advanced report to our readers. Two volumes contain, respectively, a new Translation of the Gospels, and Notes upon them. These we hope to deal with in our next number. Of a third volume we have given the title as introducing these remarks. It embraces two parts, the first entitled "Remarks on Christianity and the Gospels, with Particular Reference to Strauss's 'Life of Jesus'"; the second, "On the Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels; being Portions of an unfinished Work." Of this volume we proceed to offer a brief and imperfect sketch.

In his work on "The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels," Mr. Norton had labored to show that the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed, and that they were written by those whose names they bear. The argument then pursued dealt with matters outside of the Gospels themselves, with External Evidences, with facts which to a fair mind are indisputable, with reasonable inferences

from those facts, and, finally, with such objections as presented themselves in the development of the argument, which is in the main an argument from historical documents. In undertaking to present the "Internal Evidences" of the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels, the method and the materials of argument are different. The author might have accomplished his purpose by a simple statement of the points which constitute those evidences, without dealing with the objections urged, because these objections are rather matters of opinion than of fact. Yet, as we all of us are glad to be informed how an argument that appears to us decisive may be or has been evaded, Mr. Norton has chosen to recognize these objections. While the External Evidences require an examination of historical facts and authorities, the Internal Evidences involve the principles and arguments of correct reasoning. If an objector proceeds on false principles, then, instead of meeting his specific objections one by one, the right course is to confute the general tenor of his reasoning. This consideration has led Mr. Norton to take particular notice of the theories advanced by some infidel theologians of Germany, and especially of that of Strauss, in his "Life of Jesus."

In a brief Introduction, left uncompleted by the author, we find a lucid statement of his plan, and cannot but regret that he did not fill out the line of thought there opened. After speaking of the operation of causes through the influence of which Christianity has ceased to be regarded by many as a subject of rational and manly investigation, and is passed by, perhaps with an air of respect, by a great portion even of intelligent men, as a matter with the truth or falsity of which they have no particular concern, Mr. Norton adds:—

"Gross ignorance and gross misconceptions of Christianity consequently prevail. Objections, cavils, and supposed difficulties, which would at once vanish in clear day, assume a portentous appearance amid the darkness and the perplexity of false lights. Explanation, thorough explanation, a readiness to view the subject on every side and in all its important relations, a total indisposition to fall back for support on authority or traditional opinions or vulgar prejudices, and a freedom from all those motives of fear or interest which may bias the mind to



countenance the errors of any party, are especial requisites at the present day in a defender and expositor of Christianity. . . . . The character of our age is such that we are particularly called upon to consider the opinions of those by whom Christianity is rejected, — and by whom, as we shall hereafter see, all religion is rejected, — and to examine the foundations of their system of unbelief.” — pp. 6, 7.

We have expressed our regret that the Introduction intended for this work by the author was left by him in a fragmentary state. Our disappointment is the more keen, because the interruption to the course of reasoning pursued by Mr. Norton occurs at a point of paramount importance. We do not know that he would have developed fully, or indeed a single step further, his views on the subject of Inspiration, had he completed his introduction, but this portion of his work terminates abruptly while that topic is before him. After stating that it is a main design of his work to remove the errors and objections which may counteract the proper influence of the internal proofs of the authenticity of the Gospels, the author adds : —

“ In pursuing this design, we must begin with entirely setting aside one essential misapprehension concerning the intrinsic character of the Gospels. The traditionary doctrine has been, that they are not, properly speaking, the works of their reputed authors, but works written by the inspiration of God, or under his immediate suggestion and superintendence. On the one hand, this doctrine is an insuperable obstacle to all just appreciation of that vast amount of evidence for their truth which the Gospels carry with them when properly regarded and understood ; and, on the other, it is from this doctrine that the objections with which their genuineness and authenticity have been assailed derive their chief strength.

“ It having been assumed that they are infallible books, free from the imperfections and mistakes that belong to the works of merely human narrators, and especially to those of writers so uneducated as the Evangelists, when such imperfections and mistakes have been discovered in them, the unbeliever has thought himself to have found an argument against the reality of God’s revelation by Christ, while in fact he had found only an argument against a false doctrine.” — pp. 13, 14.

Here there is an interruption in the line of argument, of the intended conclusion of which we have but a fragment

that had not received the author's final revision. In this fragment Mr. Norton says, that in a book not intended for the confutation of popular errors, but containing reasoning addressed to intelligent men, who may be supposed to be acquainted with the facts necessary for forming a correct judgment on the matter in hand, it may seem out of place to attempt a confutation of the popular doctrine of Inspiration as applied to the Gospels. He assumes to defend their trustworthiness, not their infallibility. The most plausible attacks which have been made upon their credit have been directed against the doctrine of their infallibility, which many Christians have ventured to assert, and to pledge themselves to maintain, by affirming that the Gospels are free from error, and are to be referred to God as their author. As to this view of Inspiration, Mr. Norton says:—

“The objections to it — all which it is worth while to urge, since, if these are not considered as decisive, all others must be unavailing — may be stated in a few words. It supposes a miracle of which no proof can be afforded through the evidence of ocular witnesses. It is a miracle the first step in the proof of which is wanting; for the first step in proving such a miracle is to show that the supposed subject of it claims to write by the authority and under the guidance of God; and the Evangelists put forward no such pretension. There can, it would seem, be no rational ground for ascribing inspiration to a writer who himself does not claim to be inspired. But though the Evangelists do not claim it for themselves, it may be said that they are affirmed to have been inspired by an authority that cannot be questioned; for St. Paul says, ‘All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.’ (2 Timothy iii. 16.) This passage is the main argument for the supposition; and it affords a very striking example of the manner in which a few misunderstood but easily remembered words are often detached from the Bible, and employed in support of irrational doctrines, in opposition to all else that may be learned from it, and to the plainest dictates of common sense. In regard to those words, it is unnecessary to urge the considerations, that, before an argument in proof of a miracle can be founded upon them, it must be proved that St. Paul was inspired to write them; and that it must be further proved that the Gospels were in existence when he wrote them, which is very doubtful; or even the consideration, that, were they in existence, he could not have had them in mind, since it is clear from the context that he referred only to the books of the Old Testament. The words have their whole force, great as it has been upon the minds of

English readers, only from the improper use of the word 'inspiration' in our common English version, and the consequent false meaning which has been put upon them. Their true meaning may be thus expressed : 'The spirit of God is breathed into every book' ; that is, of the Old Testament ; and the only purpose of the Apostle was to assert generally, what no Christian will deny, that a religious spirit pervades the books of the Old Testament. Hence they are, and were especially to the early converts to our faith, 'profitable,' &c. I say especially to the early converts, because at the time when St. Paul wrote there was no collection of the books of the New Testament, there was no Christian literature, and certainly nothing in heathen literature, supposing them to have had any familiarity with it, which could supply the place of the books of the Old Testament as a source of religious instruction and religious feelings." — pp. 15 – 17.

The Introduction, again interrupted here, closes with the following sentence : —

"But the Gospels themselves afford evidence the most decisive of the question whether they bear the stamp of God's infallibility, or the impress of human minds." — p. 17.

Sorry are we that the discussion of this subject by Mr. Norton terminates here, and in this way. On no single point connected with the momentous themes to the study of which he consecrated a life of thorough and devoted scholarship, under the guidance of a most conscientious spirit of allegiance to the truth, should we have more gratefully received the full results of his clear reasoning and deliberate judgment, than upon the very one now before us. That there is a substantial truth presented in his statements no careful and candid student of the Gospels will deny. But on such a point we need something more than substantial truth, and without some very guarded and yet very obvious limitations and qualifications, some close restriction upon the premises assumed and the inferences drawn from them, we should be wholly unsatisfied to leave this matter where our author — not intentionally, but by the stern necessities of bodily weakness and the imperious summons which waits for no earthly work to be completed — was compelled to leave it. He would otherwise have given us views and statements conformable in their intrinsic value to the attainments and principles which guided his own convictions.



Not forgetting the dictates of modesty in criticizing the views of Mr. Norton, not at all with a purpose of challenging his opinion or the grounds of it, seeing that they are not fully set forth in these fragments, but simply to indicate some few of the points which to our minds seem essential to a correct judgment, and to the statement of a judicious principle, on this question of Inspiration, we will here add a few words of our own.

For ourselves, we believe in the Inspiration of the Gospels in an intelligible sense, which justifies the use of that word even under its prevailing signification; and we regard the value, the adaptedness, and the sufficiency of the Gospels for their uses as the authoritative vehicle of a revealed religion designed for reception by the whole world of men, as involving the necessity of that Inspiration. We should not allow that, in claiming Inspiration for them, we transferred the authorship of the Gospels as written compositions from human minds under a peculiar influence from God, to God himself; nor should we by any means admit that, in asserting that the Evangelists originally wrote by inspiration, we were bound to assume that the text of the Gospels now in our hands is "infallible." Neither do we suppose that the popular belief in their inspiration is to any great extent, certainly not entirely, dependent upon the common interpretation put upon the words of St. Paul, as above quoted. Readers are led antecedently to believe, that a revealed religion which did not draw from human sources, but involved heavenly agencies and miraculous methods, would have a similar pre-eminence and distinctiveness in its records, supposing it to have any records. The written word, like "the preached word," should be the wisdom of God and the power of God. The Saviour promised his Apostles, that, when they were called to the defence of their doctrine before opponents, they should not be left to speak their own words or to maintain their cause by their own unaided resources, but should be supplied with suggestions, with arguments, and with power, by the Spirit of God. St. Paul expressly affirms that he had help of that kind which amounted even to dictation. Now if the first and second generations of Christian believers were instructed in the faith and won to its allegiance by inspiration manifested through oral teachings,

have we not an antecedent reason for believing that a provision as like to this inspiration as the case admits of would be made for Christians of after generations, and that the records designed as the vehicle of the evangelical history would be something more than mere human compositions? The emergent necessities of the Church that was to be established for all ages appear to us to require that the writers of the Gospels should have been aided in such a way by the Spirit of God, that what they have written may be said, and may be proved, to have been *inspired*. Mr. Norton's elaborate and admirable reasoning in the work before us, and in his previous work, is directed to the proof of the fact that the Gospels were written by apostolic men. The intent of such an argument is to assure to the Gospels the authority and the value which they have as coming from those who had the best means of information upon the subjects on which they wrote. But a second result of that argument, — if it should not be put foremost, is, that it proves the Gospels to have been written by those to whom the Saviour gave the promise of divine aid in their Christian work.

It may be urged in objection to the view we have thus expressed, that, if God did inspire the Evangelists as *writers*, the inspiration of their original records has been nullified or impaired by the corruptions which time and accident and translation have introduced into them. But the same objection might be advanced against the claim of the Apostles to the help of inspiration as *preachers* of the Gospel, because the doctrines and the truths which they taught were subsequently corrupted or mingled with errors when left to repetition by their successors. Of course we grant that some abatements — very slight ones indeed, and not by any means in amount or character such as have been claimed or yielded — are to be made to the assumption of inspiration for the records as they are now in our hands. But we prefer to make those abatements from the documents themselves, as required by the chances of error to which they have been subjected in their transmission, their transcription, and their translation, rather than to make them from the *original endowments* of the Evangelists. If mistakes are found in the records, the question is certainly an open one whether they originated in the writers, or have been interpolated by

some other hands. We hold it to be of vital importance to our faith, to deny the former alternative and to admit the latter. It is necessary to limit at some point the existence and the amount of what is allowed to be error in the records, and some sound and generally admitted principle both of criticism and of faith must define that limit, without leaving it to the decision of each individual mind to place it anywhere within the bounds of truth or falsehood. Whatever can be traced by the fair principles of historic criticism to an apostolic pen, we hold to be true and authoritative. We cannot go behind it. If it offend or confound us, our duty is to discipline our own feelings or judgment, and not to tamper with the record, or to challenge the truthfulness of the writer. Indeed, the issue opened by the alternative we have suggested is simply this. If the errors supposed to exist in the text of the Gospels are referred to the chances of corruption through which it has passed, they may be left to the dealing of that noble scholarly skill, that conscientious and judicious toil of criticism, of which Mr. Norton was a pre-eminent and most honored example, — the man whom of all men we would follow, if we followed any man. But if these alleged errors in the text of the Gospels are to be referred to the ignorance, the imperfections, the misconceptions, or the prejudices of the Apostles, with what confidence, with what satisfaction, can we read anything they have written? If we must accompany our reading of the Gospels by a running commentary of our own for the purpose of correcting the mistakes of the *original* writers, we have a hopeless task before us. A field is opened not only for individual judgment, but for fancies, eccentricities, and vagaries of every sort and kind, wider than the wildest dreams of "liberty" ever offered even to speculation. The criticism of a Biblical or a classical text is a scholarly science of well-defined principles, and it has been rewarded and enriched by some proud results. But the criticism of Apostles, the sitting in judgment upon those who preached by inspiration, and to whom the Spirit of God brought "all things to remembrance," is a new science, one upon which we ourselves do not care to venture, and the results of which we should distrust more than we should dread.

There certainly is a practical difficulty of an exceed-



ingly embarrassing character in allowing large abatements upon the claims of the Apostles to intelligence and accuracy, while we still hold them as our chief authorities upon matters in which intelligent and accurate testimony is so vitally important. In a subsequent page of his work, in arguing with great power from the correspondence between the construction and the style of the Gospels and the character and circumstances of those to whom they are ascribed, Mr. Norton refers to the want of skill in the Evangelists as literary artists, and adds : —

“ In regard to the criticism of the Gospels, it is constantly to be kept in mind, that this want of literary skill in their authors appears not merely in the construction of their histories, but equally in their use of language. Their vocabulary was very limited, and hence the action of their minds was constrained. They had no command and choice of expression, and, at the same time, were called upon to communicate ideas, sentiments, and modes of thought, with which the generality of their contemporaries had been wholly unacquainted. The difficulty they found in writing caused them to narrate briefly and imperfectly, omitting connecting thoughts and explanatory circumstances ; and their want of familiarity with the use of language not unfrequently led them to employ forms of speech which are evidently not the precise logical expression of the meaning intended.” — pp. 110, 111.

To us these sentences, from their vagueness and their unqualified or unrestricted application, open many questions. If they are applicable to the hard, and labored, and even ungrammatical style of Mark's Gospel, they do not appear to us to be warranted by any qualities in the Gospels of Luke and John. What desirable grace or fitness of style do we miss from those beautiful compositions ? The inadequacy of language for dealing with Gospel themes is a suggestion often in our minds as we read the records ; but any marked inability in the Evangelists to report the Saviour's words, or to rehearse the incidents of his life in appropriate and expressive terms, is a phenomenon which has never been obvious to us.

Returning from this digression of our own, we follow our author in his brief, but most exhaustive, trial of the theory of Strauss, which resolves the Gospels into mythical or legendary compositions. Strauss acquits the immediate disciples and followers of Jesus of the charge of

originating and propagating these alleged fictions, nor does he impute them even to their fabricators as intentional falsehoods. He regards them as unconscious exaggerations, spontaneous inventions of credulity. The exigencies of his theory require that these alleged fictions should be held to have originated chiefly in the interval of time between the Saviour's death and the destruction of Jerusalem. This, it will be observed, is the very period during which the contemporaries of the Saviour were living, and his Apostles were preaching his Gospel. It would seem as if the inventive credulity of an unbeliever and the fancies of a drivelling folly could devise no absurdity more absurd than is the mere bringing together of the terms of this theory. How Jesus ever obtained a single disciple; what motive or inducement led any one to "preach" him to any one else; how there should happen to be two sets of preachers of him at the same time, — the one set preaching something true, though we know not what that was, the other set preaching falsehoods, which were invented we know not how or by whom; by what means the true historic account of Jesus became supplanted by the fictitious account; how the Jews were made to believe false stories about what was said and done in their own streets before their own eyes; how the Gentiles, whose prejudices were all against, and not at all in favor of, a Jewish Messiah, were won to Christianity; how the title of a "legend" or a "myth" — a title which only the lapse of long time, with its mellowing, romantic, and shadow-deepening influences can win for an invention of the fancy — can justly be attached to a fresh falsehood, told to the very contemporaries of the events which it falsifies; — these and a hundred similar questions, either one of which would "pose" even Dr. Strauss, are very conveniently passed by in his exposition of his theory. That theory compels him to require us to admit that the martyr age and the age of falsehood were identical; that the fictions were invented at the very time and by the very persons when and by whom a faith in them as facts was most needed: that martyrs and sufferers, instead of being fortified by *convictions*, fed themselves upon *inventions*.

Our readers may well imagine what exposure and discomfiture Mr. Norton visits upon this theory, in his cool,

deliberate, cautious, and very simple statement of its own terms when examined by the principles of self-consistency, and in as simple a trial of them by indisputable facts. Withheld by the seriousness of his subject, and by the constraining dignity of his own intellectual and moral composition, from indulging in the ridicule of what is eminently ridiculous, he plies the theorist with logical knocks and with scholarly blows. Mr. Norton announces the direct and conclusive proposition, that, if the Gospels can be traced to their alleged authors, the theory of Strauss at once falls to the ground. All the show of means which Strauss offers for the practical working of his theory is this. The fictions which were connected with the life of Jesus were in neither their design nor substance pure fabrications. The original material of them existed in the supposed Jewish prophecies, and in the popular expectations of a Messiah. These were ingeniously wrought up, and adapted to some simple facts in the life of Jesus, were first rehearsed in regions of the country which Jesus had frequented the least, were gradually related more boldly where he had been best known, until they were admitted to pass unchallenged, and to form portions of the Gospels, about the last quarter of the second century, — the point of time at which Strauss maintains our present Gospels are first proved to have had an historic existence. Mr. Norton, in his previous great work, has dealt with the question opened in the last clause of our preceding sentence, and has triumphantly proved that the Gospels are recognized as existing earlier than the date above specified, and that the credit with which they were received near the close of the second century can consist only with such a previous train of facts and evidences as will vindicate their full authority, and their origin from the writers to whom they are assigned. In the work before us he offers further suggestions bearing on the same point. He meets the consummate assurance of Strauss, — in offering us the misunderstood prophecies and the popular fancies concerning a Messiah as the facile materials for fictions to be attached to the life of Jesus of Nazareth, — by presenting with admirable power of reasoning the fact that the alleged fulfilment of these popular fancies drawn from prophecy was made sadly and appallingly in contrast with the expectations themselves.



“According to Strauss, it was the purpose of those who propagated the fabulous history of Jesus to evince that he was the Messiah through the correspondence of its fictions with the previous expectations of the Jews concerning the Messiah. This history actually shows one striking point of resemblance, in representing Jesus as the last great messenger of God to the Jewish nation, endued with miraculous powers. But the whole representation of the purpose and effects of his mission, of his personal character, of his humble condition in this world, of his determined repression of all hope of worldly aggrandizement for himself, his followers, or his countrymen, of his annunciation to his immediate disciples, that they must submit to poverty and suffering, and prepare themselves for the last outrage of persecution, together with the account of the apparent triumph of his enemies and of his cruel death, — this representation, if it were a fiction, might seem to have been devised in direct opposition to the expectations of the Jews respecting their Messiah. . . . .

“Such being the case, it follows, that no attempt could be more hopeless or more foolish, than an attempt to persuade the Jews that the life and the death, the character, acts, and teachings of Jesus, corresponded to their previous expectations of the Messiah. So far, indeed, from their finding any such correspondence, we know that during his ministry, and after his death, he was rejected by a very great majority of the nation, as disappointing all their hopes from a Messiah, and exasperating their strongest prejudices.

“I have elsewhere spoken of the theory of Strauss as an outrage upon common sense. If the preceding account of it be correct, and no one, I trust, will pretend that it is not, the language which I have used cannot be objected to.” — pp. 37 – 39.

Some forcible remarks follow, bearing upon these considerations: — How are we to account, by this theory, for the existence of a religion so pure as Christianity, so in contrast with all existing opinions and influences, and with such devoted adherents, near the close of the second century? What previous conditions must necessarily have been realized, to secure the footing on which the Gospels then stood? What explanation can we give of the conception of the Founder of this religion, and of his character? How was so-strange a fraud imposed upon the Jews, — how upon the Gentiles? Mr. Norton devotes several pages to some reasoning on these points, in which, with exquisite beauty of language and with a penetrating skill in the use of solid and searching argument, he shows how unsatisfactory all the theories proposed by

German infidelity must be in attempting to set aside the facts of Christian history, or to account for the invention of such a conception as the character of Jesus.

The author then passes to an "Examination of Strauss's two fundamental Principles of Criticism." Strauss proposes two principles as tests to determine that "an account is not historical," that is, is not to be believed. The first of these tests is, that no account is historical if it involve miracles, as miracles are proved to be impossibilities. Mr. Norton disposes summarily of this principle, as passing out of the range of an inquiry into the historic evidences of Christianity, and as founded on the boldest assumptions of blank atheism. Strauss's second test is stated in these loose and vague terms: "An account which lays claim to any historical value must not be inconsistent with itself, nor contradict other accounts." Noting the absence of "any tenable meaning" in this indefinite principle, Mr. Norton submits it to his own "test," giving Strauss, however, the benefit of a subsequent admission of his own, that, "when two narratives mutually exclude each other, one only is thereby proved to be unhistorical." Our author's discussion of this point involves the very delicate matter of illustrating how the integrity of a narrative may consist with discrepancies between its own statements and those of another narrative. Starting with the obvious and familiar truth, that a complete accordance in any two narratives would be an unexampled and a suspicious circumstance, when we consider how differently men see and are impressed by, and remember and describe, the same occurrences, Mr. Norton reminds us that in "proportion as any important fact is confirmed by a greater number of witnesses, so may we expect to find more discrepancies and contradictions in the accounts of particular circumstances attending it." He then gives us an illustration, presented in a most scholarly and philosophical style, of the character of Strauss's criticism and reasoning, by applying them to the accounts extant in different heathen authors of an incident which they relate in common, namely, the assassination of Cæsar. Suetonius devotes to it twenty lines; Appian, Plutarch, Dion Cassius, and Seneca relate or refer to the incident. Yet when these separate accounts are carefully comparéd

together, though according in the main fact, they are found to present so many discrepancies, that, according to Strauss's canon, the historic credibility of the event would be utterly disproved. Our readers will find rare intellectual enjoyment and a moral pleasure in following Mr. Norton in this keen trial of wits. He triumphantly concludes that this sort of criticism is inapplicable to human testimony, and cannot invalidate the substantial credit of any narrative subjected to it. He closes this section by a serious protest and censure, almost indignant, but abundantly justified, against that cold and heartless and contemptuous disregard which Strauss exhibits for the associations connected with his subject in the mind of a religious man, and for the bearing of the discussion on all that is of precious interest to humanity. The reader of Strauss can with difficulty resist the infection of its spirit. "If one were to submit to hear the character and conduct of his most intimate friend canvassed and questioned at great length, in the manner in which Strauss discusses the history of our Lord, he might find it difficult to feel for him the same confidence and respect as before." (p. 102.)

The author next presents to our notice some general facts, as expressing the marked characteristics of the Gospels. They are brief and incomplete histories, exhibiting the individual and the national peculiarities of their writers. They are ingenuously written, with an unsuspecting and a confident reliance upon the substantial matter of their contents as their recommendation to the perusal and interest of their readers. One is often amazed at this ingenuousness of the Evangelists, as they relate the most astounding and perplexing circumstances without the least attempt to explain or relieve them. They take for granted that the reader has some previous knowledge, or leave him to find from other sources the means for filling out and clearing up what they leave in a mist. From these characteristics of the Gospels spring the difficulties which they present to a reader, — difficulties aggravated to all but a few by existing popular prejudices, by misconceptions, by erroneous teaching, by a faulty translation. Were there intelligent and reasonable views prevalent in a community, such works as that of Strauss could hardly be produced.



"If produced, they would fall at once to their proper level. They would be classed with such writings as those of one of his countrymen (Professor Samuel Simon Witte), who, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, maintained that the Pyramids and the ruins of Persepolis, Palmyra, and Baalbec were natural productions, the result of volcanic agency." (p. 119.)

Some most eloquent pages of thoughtful wisdom and of profound earnestness are found in the closing sections of the first part of Mr. Norton's work. They are the result of meditations drawn from the very depths of his heart on the sense of its own wants, which the earth cannot supply, on the experiences of human life, the exigencies of society, and the intense conflicts which now convulse the world. These reflections bear directly upon the events and agitations which were transpiring as the author composed his pages, and they prove that he was no secluded dreamer, no unconcerned observer of the woes and trials, the struggles and the risks, which furrow the brows of early manhood, and find their way into the hearts and homes of men and women, and raise a storm over the troubled sea of human life. We know not where to find words and sentences of a more instructive and impressive wisdom than these pages offer. Mr. Norton attempts to answer the question, "What constitutes the value of Christianity and the Gospels?" He tells us that Christianity is our only source of satisfactory religious knowledge. He exposes to the heart of man its own deep need, its longing, its loneliness, its desolation, as a token of its craving for religion. He presents to us the gloom and darkness of heathenism, the poor and unsatisfying results which reason and natural religion could secure even to the few minds of highest culture and of the finest endowments in Greece and Rome. He makes our absolute dependence upon a revelation to furnish us with a test for estimating its value, and so for reposing a grateful trust on the Gospel which meets our want.

Mr. Norton enters into a brief examination of that infidel and atheistic philosophy of Germany which is Strauss's proposed substitute for religion. As may well be supposed, this examination is searching and caustic. Our author, with his conscientiousness about the use of

intelligible language and of simple honesty in statement, and with his holy loyalty to truth, was not a man to be deceived by the foggy speculations or the evasive subtleties of the German mind. In a note on a passage in Strauss, he says: "I give my own rendering above, because Strauss's English translator appears to me to have failed here, as elsewhere, I do not say in giving the sense of the original, for it would be hard to bring it as a charge against him, that he has not done what was impossible, &c." When the vague or meaningless phrases, or, to speak plainly, the sham philosophy and the utter nonsense of Strauss's Hegelianism, are set in contrast with Mr. Norton's admirable exposition of the value, the uses, and the conditions of truth, the reader feels as if he had turned away from a vain attempt to understand a Hottentot who would convert him, to listen to a man who in his own mother tongue offers him lessons of wholesome and holy wisdom.

Our limited space compels us to study brevity in our reference to the second part of the volume before us. The object aimed at, in proving that the Gospels are the works of apostolic men, is to establish the truth of their contents. The line of argument in support of their genuineness, that is, of their having been written by Apostles and the companions of Apostles, is in many respects distinct from the line of argument in support of their authenticity, that is, of their fidelity to fact. But in developing the internal evidences of the Gospels the proof of their genuineness becomes connected with the proof of their authenticity. Mr. Norton first argues from "The Consistency of the Narrative in the Gospels with itself, and with all our Knowledge bearing on the Subject." In this chapter some very forcible reasoning, but by no means intricate in its character, presents the reader with suggestions which open before him a most profitable and delightful method for following them out at any length he may please. The narratives constantly imply facts which are not expressly mentioned, but which must be supplied from other sources and taken into view by the reader. The Gospels abound in latent references to an existing state of things which is not described. By fitting in and matching together hints and informa-

tion gathered from different parts of one narrative, or from several narratives, or from other sources, some amazing coincidences and correspondences present themselves. These are not the result of study or artifice; they are the unmistakable signatures of truth. The adaptation of the teachings of Jesus, and the constant references in them to the state of things then existing in the world, to the opinions, customs, and prejudices our knowledge of which we derive from other channels, afford us means for tracing accordances the discovery of which is the most impressive kind of evidence. This is a *cumulative* argument; one that is heaped up by contributions from a multitude of its applications. Mr. Norton illustrates its force with a most delicate and skilful power, by taking two passages from a Gospel, and supplying from other sources what is needed to explain their allusions, and thus presenting their unstudied consistency. The inference is irresistible, that the Gospels were written at the time to which their narratives refer, and by those persons who were witnesses and actors in the events there related.

The second chapter considers the Objections against the Consistency of the Narratives. Objectors suggest that, supposing the history of Jesus in the Gospels to be true, his ministry would have produced quite a different effect on those to whom it was addressed; men's minds would certainly have yielded to his miraculous proofs, instead of rejecting him. To such objections it is fairly answered, that the conclusion that Jesus was a messenger from God by no means followed in his day from the fact that he wrought wonderful works. There is no token that these miracles were ever denied or controverted; on the contrary, they were admitted and were referred to an evil source. Instead of denying the miracles of Jesus, the Jews urged against him a different class of objections, as we learn from the Gospels and Epistles. Nor are miracles particularly adapted to convince a rude and superstitious people. Miracles are most craved after by the ignorant, but they are best appreciated only by the well-informed and considerate. A sufficient explanation of the rejection of Jesus by the Jews is found in the facts that he so bitterly disappointed their unwarranted hopes, and so boldly rebuked their vices, follies, and corruptions.



The last chapter is devoted to an exhibition of the evidences of the truthfulness of the Gospels drawn from their representation of the character of Jesus as delineated in his teachings and in his actions. Would that our contracted space allowed us to do any manner of justice, by analysis and quotation, to the impressive and affecting power of our author in treating this theme. The teachings of Jesus present to us a perfect system of religion; they are such as might come from a Divine Messenger; their views of God, and of man's relations and responsibility to God, of immortality, and of moral principles of duty, address themselves with a self-enforcing conviction of their truth to every sincere reader. These teachings, compared with those of the wisest and best of human teachers, — those of Socrates, — display their unapproached perfection. The personal character of Jesus consists with his teachings, and crowns their testimony to his heavenly mission. The Gospels which convey to us those teachings and the impress of that character thus assure to us their own authenticity and genuineness.

A brief Appendix to the volume treats of the adaptation of the discourses of Christ to the character and condition of the Jews, and to the circumstances in which he was placed.

As our readers will soon have this valuable work within their reach, we will leave to them the ratification of the high estimate which we have put upon it. We assure them that they will find a sacred pleasure in tracing through its luminous pages that self-recommending testimony which the Gospels offer to the truthfulness of their contents. If the volume served no other use, we should receive it as a precious legacy from one whose earnest and devout pen has treated a religious theme with that vigor of mind and that seriousness of spirit which are themselves evidences of the reality of religion and of its high objects. The author ceased from his fond labors on the earth, sustained by the hope of the Gospel's precious promise. May this legacy from his heart and spirit confirm that glorious hope to all who may read his book.

G. E. E.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*A South Side View of Slavery: or, Three Months at the South in 1854.* By NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D. D.

THE general object of this book seems to be to diminish the dislike which Northern people feel toward slavery; to show that, when well regulated, and properly managed, it is not so bad a thing after all; that there is nothing wrong in holding three millions of human beings in bondage; that in the abstract it is right, and in the concrete, beautiful; that, though there are some revolting things connected with it, these are all exceptional; and that on the whole the slaves are much better off as they are, than they would be if free. In accomplishing this laudable object, it gives us a collection of the same assertions and opinions which Abolitionists have been in the habit of hearing and answering, during the last twenty years. To produce a greater impression, Dr. Adams represents himself as being a thorough-going Abolitionist in feeling and sentiment last spring, and as having been entirely converted from those opinions by a three months' tour through the Southern States. He saw everything there *couleur de noir* before going, and found everything *couleur de rose* after he arrived. He represents himself, not only as having been violently antislavery in his feelings up to last June; but also as having been singularly green and innocent as regards the whole subject. You would suppose from his first chapter that he was an Abolitionist fresh from a constant reading of the *Liberator*. And yet he is so wholly ignorant in regard to slavery, that he parades through his book all the old arguments in its behalf, just as if they had not been refuted a hundred times over.

It will no doubt surprise Dr. Adams's acquaintances and friends not a little, to learn how inveterate have been his feelings hitherto against slavery; how he has "preached and prayed and conversed about it" (p. 13); how his time was occupied, up to the last moment of his leaving the North, in signing remonstrances against slavery, and in giving money to redeem slaves from Southern bondage. For, as it has happened, Dr. Adams has contrived to keep all these violent feelings singularly to himself. Profound silence has been with him the "flood-gate of the deeper heart"; and if there has been "a thaw in his mind," there has evidently been also "a frost of the mouth." Indeed, in this very book (p. 170), he is obliged to admit that he preached a sermon on Mr. Webster, which wound up with the moral, that the land was to "have a Sabbath on the subject of slavery"; and that he forgot to put in, that this Sabbath was to

refer only to the *mode* of discussing it. We therefore imagine that this account of the Doctor's previous antislavery sympathies will seem to most persons only the usual trick of controversy, by which a proselyte endeavors to increase the importance of his conversion, by representing himself as having been before very strong the other way.

The general substance of the book is this: Slavery is not so bad a thing, for I have spent three months at the South, and I have found that in some of the Southern cities slaves laugh, and are often well dressed, and have churches, and sing Methodist hymns. This I have seen with my own eyes. Besides this, a number of *Southern gentlemen* have told me capital things about slavery. They say that slave families are very seldom separated, that slaves never suffer from want, that they are very seldom ill-treated, and that they would be very sorry to be free. — The rest of the book is filled with the usual general reflections on the evils done to the slaves by speaking against slavery; on the wise purpose of God in permitting slavery; the usual assertions about the South being opposed to slavery, and having intended to abolish it, till it was prevented by hearing that some persons at the North were opposed to it too; the usual terrors concerning the dangers of emancipation; and the usual pious proofs out of the Bible, that slavery is a Divine institution; a good deal of talk about Onesimus; and some delicately hinted aspirations for the revival of the slave-trade, and for the extension of slavery in this country.

After this general survey of the book we will examine it chapter by chapter.

CHAP. I. Dr. Adams thinks that the discussion of slavery might have gone on for ever, without any good result, had not God providentially sent him to spend three months at the South, with an invalid; but that by means of this event and this book something is to be done to put a stop to such discussion. The North is hereafter to be silent, the South is to do as it chooses, and all is to go well.

Dr. Adams sets off for Georgia, with very gloomy feelings, expecting to see nothing there but wrongs and woe. He sails past Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, in a steamer, and as yet (apparently to his surprise) he sees no slave. At last he enters the Savannah River, and he is very much stirred up at the expectation of hearing the simultaneous groans of three millions of slaves, and the "confident expectation of seeing at the landing, or in passing through the Market Place, a figure like the common touching vignette, or the naked negro on one knee, with manacled hands raised imploringly, and saying, 'Am I not a man and a brother?'"



At last he saw a slave. It was on a steam-tug. He had two legs, and an old black hat, and he absolutely smiled. Dr. Adams was much moved, and felt impelled to speak to him, but had not the courage.

CHAP. 2. On arriving at the landing, Dr. Adams was surrounded with slaves, and observing them attentively like a natural philosopher, he noticed that they "lifted one leg in laughing." He now ventured to speak to one of them, and asked him to lift a trunk. The experiment succeeded. The trunk was lifted, and the slave said, "Anything more, please, sir?" Pursuing his observations, he saw some young women with turbans, and, beside the lifting of the leg, also saw "a rhetorical lifting of the arm." A great revolution takes place in the Doctor's feelings and opinions concerning slavery. The slaves laughed! They touched their hats!! The nurses wore turbans!!! There was a rhetorical lifting of the arms!!!! Ergo (such is the Doctor's conclusion) they cannot "be very much cowed down."

CHAP. 3. Dr. Adams sees a band of musicians, who are slaves, and one wore periscopic glasses.

He saw a cane made of the frigate Constitution, and a locomotive named New Hampshire, and was melted into tears (p. 21) at the thoughts of "the glorious Union."

He saw colored firemen; consequently his Abolition feelings were frost-bitten, and he conceived affection for the blacks and respect for their masters (p. 23).

CHAP. 4. Dr. Adams inquired why the streets were so quiet at night, and was told, that, if a slave was out after eight o'clock without a pass, he was sent to the watch-house, and his master must pay fifty cents for his release. Dr. Adams's informant forgot to add, that, in case the money was not forthcoming, the slave was flogged, and that masters sometimes prefer to have them flogged, rather than pay the money for their release. The Doctor thought this "theoretically a usurpation, but practically benevolent," as keeping them out of mischief, and would be glad to have a similar law for the clerks in Boston or New York. He indulged himself in thinking, "Here is strong government," which was "a tonic to his feelings."

Next, he sees the slaves singing at church. One starts off "with an explosive note." Another is "an elderly negro with white hair"; another, "an intensely black man, in a Petersham coat." And the Doctor's theory, that the slaves were perpetually unhappy, is overthrown. Better still, they did not go to sleep during the sermon, which to a Doctor of Divinity naturally appeared the highest virtue of which a human being is capable. But the best of all was to come; something which brought his surprise and pleasure to "a high tide"; something which he

thinks his readers will never believe ; something which demands a section by itself in his book, and which demands a new paragraph in our abstract.

The slaves were well dressed !!! In the cities, on Sunday, he saw them with " broadcloth suits, well fitting and nicely ironed fine shirts, polished boots, gloves, umbrellas for sun-shades, the best of hats, their young men with their blue coats and bright buttons in the latest style, white Marseilles vests, white pantaloons, brooches in their shirt-bosoms, gold chains, elegant sticks, and some old men leaning on their ivory and silver-headed staffs." On this occasion the Doctor's feelings nearly overflowed into shaking hands with them, and he involuntarily lifted his hat, and came to the conclusion at once, that such well-dressed gentlemen could never be badly treated.

But the Doctor's conclusion was premature. The Doctor forgot that they were all slaves ; that these clothes, bought with their savings, were not theirs, but their masters' ; and that if their masters should die, or be unfortunate in business, any of these well-dressed gentlemen and ladies might be put on the auction-block on Monday morning, and sold, clothes and all, to the highest bidder. Mrs. Stowe, who has omitted no feature of slavery, has described all this fine dressing in the servants of St. Clair, and the loss of clothes, with everything else, at St. Clair's death.

The Doctor informs us that Southern mistresses take the same pride in dressing their servants, that Northern mothers take in dressing their children (p. 32). These elegantly dressed slaves were not city, but plantation slaves. The Doctor, therefore, would have us believe that slaves through the South, house servants and field hands, are dressed as well as Northern free people. It does not appear, however, from anything in his book, that he went anywhere beyond the immediate vicinity of Savannah, Charleston, Richmond, and the remaining cities on the railroad route from Savannah to the North. Those who have spent not three months in Savannah and Charleston, but three years and more in travelling through the interior of every Southern State, tell us quite a different story. Our Northern manufacturers know very well what kind of cloths they make for the slaves. Any one who has lived at the South knows perfectly well that he will see on Sunday, in the streets of the cities and large towns, numbers of well-dressed colored people. But he also knows that it is only the few thousands in the cities who can dress thus, while the millions on the plantations go in a costume which no Boston beggar would condescend to wear.

As regards labor, the Doctor makes some, for him, remarkable concessions. He admits that " life on the cotton plantations is, in general, as severe, with the colored people, as agricultural

*life at the North.*" He grants that in the rice swamps there is disease, and that in the sugar districts men must work at certain seasons night and day; and that even in the cotton region "plantation life is severe." He goes so far as to tell us, that the negro cabins seem at first sight a little disagreeable, and as if they might be made more comfortable.

Of course, however, there is a *per contra* to these concessions; and he tells us some wonderful things, by way of showing that there is no such great harm after all in slave labor. For example, "by the common law" of the South, the slaves have a "long rest in the middle of the day," and "early dismissal from the field at night," and "the largest liberty" in celebrating all the festivals of the Episcopal Church. He brings up in our mind images of Spaniards taking comfortable siestas, and of Italians lounging in their market-places on their festas. He tells us that "some slaves are owners of bank and railroad shares." How this can be, when, by the laws of the State, everything they have is their master's, he does not condescend to inform us. He brings us a picture of a master in the market-place of a city by the side of his slave, with disinterested kindness helping his servant to dispose of honey-combs, melons, mops, husk-mats, — the property of the slave; and then, on the way home, going into the savings bank to enter "nine or ten dollars more in Joe's pass-book, which already shows several hundred dollars." "All this," he exclaims, "has not been so much as named on the platform of any society devoted to the welfare of the slaves!" Most extraordinary neglect, say we. And if Dr. Adams will furnish us with the address of this benevolent gentleman, and at the same time explain how it is that Joe can be the legal owner of a single dollar, we will engage to have it mentioned in as many anti-slavery meetings as possible. We are sorry, we confess, that Dr. Adams does not in some few instances take the trouble to authenticate his wonderful stories, by giving names, places, and dates. But this is nowhere done. All the facts in this book float in the air, which very much impairs their effect upon the mind. Dr. Adams tells stories, which, to those who like ourselves have been familiar with the South for years, seem like the narrations of Munchausen or the experiences of Gulliver. But he never condescends to give us any means of verifying them. No doubt he heard these stories, or something like them, but on what authority they came to him no man can learn from his book. When Abolitionists tell a story bearing *against* the institution of slavery, they almost invariably give the name of the individual, the town, county, and State where it occurred, and the date of the event. Dr. Adams never does anything of the kind, and you cannot even tell, after he landed at Savannah, where he went, or where he spent his three months.



Pursuing his subject, he informs us that the person of the slave is protected by public sentiment against annoyances and injuries (p. 38). In Georgia, he tells us, "it is safer to kill a white man than a negro." He considers it well that the blacks are not allowed to give testimony against the whites (p. 40.) All this is easy to say, but very hard to prove. We have lived many years in a slave State, and have repeatedly known of slaves being killed, and never knew an instance of a white man being punished for doing so. He mentions a case in which two white men were sentenced to death for the murder of a negro, but does not inform us whether or no they were hung.

He thinks that crime is prevented among the lower class of society, by means of slavery, and thinks "it would be a benefit (p. 41) to some of our immigrants at the North, and to society, if government could thus prevent or reach disturbances of the peace through masters, overseers, or guardians. But we cannot rival, in our police measures, the beneficial system of the South, in its distributive agencies, to prevent burglaries and arson."

That is to say, Dr. Adams would like to see the Irish enslaved, in order to keep them from getting into rows. This is logical and consistent, and we like him for it. If slavery is good for blacks, of course it is equally good for the whites. But as regards *arson*, has Dr. Adams never heard the reason why factories cannot be established in the Southern States? If he had asked his Southern friends, they might have told him that, sooner or later, they are always burnt down by the slaves. Nor was he informed of the fact which we know to be universally true, that Southern households live in the constant terror of fire and of poison, the two weapons by which the slave revenges himself on the whites. Arsenic is universally in the possession of the negroes, but it is considered the part of wisdom, when families are poisoned, that the fact should be kept as secret as possible.

Dr. Adams describes the meekness and spirit of submission which characterize the slaves; and hence derives an argument in favor of slavery which has produced such excellent results. Either way, therefore, he can prove that they ought to be slaves. If they behave well, then of course slavery is doing them good, and it will be a cruelty to them to set them free. If they behave badly, then it is evident that they are unfit for freedom, and ought not to be set free. Poor creatures! Your virtues and your vices equally furnish this Northern Christian minister with arguments against the breaking of your yoke.

Chapter fifth continues to give us favorable views of slavery; and in the first place we are told that it prevents "mobs" (p. 44). This is a striking fact, and an important discovery, if true. But,

inasmuch as we remember a great multitude of transactions which very much resembled mobs, we must season for a while our admiration of this new beauty of slavery. We seem to remember something of persons being tarred and feathered, and driven out of Southern States, on the suspicion of being Abolitionists; of the South Carolina mob which drove away Mr. Hoar; of the other which broke into the Post-Office, and destroyed Abolition papers; of the Vicksburg mob which hung the gamblers; of the St. Louis mob which burned Mackintosh; of Regulators, and other organizations of mob-law; of Lynching and Lynch law (a Southern invention), and of the Baltimore mobs, which broke into the jail and murdered a Revolutionary soldier during the last war with Great Britain; and those which, a few years since, continued for three days in the same city, when the houses of Reverdy Johnson, of the Mayor, and others, were gutted and set on fire. We happened to be ourselves present on this latter occasion, and mingled with the mob, and saw the work of destruction carried on.

The slaves have a great deal of personal liberty, and come and go at pleasure,—so the Doctor informs us (p. 45). He assures us that the masters do not wish to keep a servant who runs away, but “they are suffered to find other masters,”—a euphemism we suppose, for selling them South. They are pursued, when they run away, he says, merely as property,—and we have no doubt that he is quite right in this latter statement.

Dr. Adams thinks that there are few popular delusions at the South, but “far more faith” there “than with us.” “There is more faith, less infidelity,” at the South than at the North; so he says. We presume that he has heard of Mr. Jefferson and his college in Virginia, of Dr. Thomas Cooper, President of South Carolina College, of Professor Charles Caldwell, of Lexington, Kentucky, and of the *Types of Mankind*, lately published in Mobile. The difference between the South and the North is this; that at the South educated men are very frequently Deists, and at the same time indifferent to the whole subject of religion, and the women are often uneducated, trusting mostly in the doctrines of their own sect and preacher. At the North, all are interested in questions of religion and morals, and therefore differences of opinion are openly expressed. Dr. Adams says that “the white population of the South are readers of books, perhaps more generally than we.” This is curious, since, by the census, there is in the slave States one white person in every eleven who cannot read and write, while in the free States there is only one in forty-three. By the last census it appears that one fourth of the native white population of North Carolina over twenty years are unable to read and write. Comparing together

a few of the Northern and Southern States, the results on this point are curious. Maine and North Carolina have each about 550,000 native white inhabitants. Of these there are in Maine 2,000 who cannot read and write, — in North Carolina 73,000. Massachusetts has a larger native white population than Tennessee; in the former State there are 1,055 who cannot read and write, — in the latter there are 77,017 in the same predicament. Connecticut has 324,095 native white inhabitants, and 726 who cannot read and write. Maryland has 366,650 native white inhabitants, of whom 17,364 cannot read and write. It is therefore certainly a little remarkable, *if true*, that “the white population of the South are readers of books, perhaps more generally than we.”

Thus far, we have examined the statements of the book consecutively, and have given its contents in their own order. We have thus considered the first five chapters. But as it would take more room than we can spare to go through the whole book in this way, we shall give the results of our study of what remains, in a more general way, giving first what strikes us favorably, and then stating our principal objections.

All that can be said in favor of this book will be soon written down. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, like his distinguished prototype, Parson Adams, appears to be a sincere man, honest and truthful, with kindly feelings toward his neighbors and friends. It is not his fault, that he is incapable of comprehending a principle, — that he is wholly inadequate to the discussion of such a subject as slavery, — that he never, even by accident, reaches a high moral tone, or treats the question as one of principle, — that his sympathy with the slaves is wholly outward, and that his notions of religion are of “the letter which killeth.” This is not his fault, but his misfortune. He is naturally a man of dogmas, and by training an Orthodox New England minister, and is a fair specimen of the limitations of that type of mankind.

Moreover, his book is a good book, as showing what dogmatic Christianity can come to. Here is an Orthodox divine of the first water, who knows every difference between tweedledum and tweedle-dee in theology, and yet thinks it right to hold a man as a slave; a divine who says that Unitarians are no better than Judas Iscariot, and who keeps all his soft words and bland excuses for those who whip women and steal babies; a divine who will not let a Christian Union of young men enter his church, because among them there may be Unitarians and Universalists, but who grows sentimental to the last degree over divisions between the North and the South. We think such a book is useful as another example of the evils, not of Orthodoxy, but of Orthodoxism. It shows how hard, narrow, and cold



even a kindly heart can become, after wearing for years that iron armor.

We object to this book, first, that its facts are erroneous; secondly, that its reasonings are false; and thirdly, that its spirit is extremely low and ungenerous.

1. Its facts are erroneous.

When Dr. Adams asserts (p. 46), that the white population of the South are perhaps more generally readers of books than we, — that there is more faith and less infidelity (p. 46) at the South than at the North, — that there is an absence of mobs at the South (p. 44), — that there is less crime there (p. 41), — that abusing and killing a negro by a white man are usually punished there (p. 38), — that slaves are generally allowed long rest in the day, and plenty of holidays (p. 35), — that they generally, even on plantations, have handsome dresses (p. 32), — that slavery prevents pauperism (p. 37), (the paupers are distributed on plantations, instead of being collected in poor-houses,) — that they generally have religious instruction (p. 38), — that the people of the South wish to be free from slavery (p. 97), and that slavery agitation at the North has prevented it (pp. 107, 115), — he says what all well-informed men know to be false, and which can be easily proved so, by facts and statistics. Travelling for a few months, principally in Southern cities, seeing what slaveholders choose to show him, and taking their stories for gospel, he gives us a book in which every page conveys either a false fact or a false impression.

We will quote one single story to illustrate the combined ignorance and innocence of our travelling Doctor. On page 22 he tells us of a military commander in Georgia, "who led the Georgia detachment of troops to our Northeastern frontier, during our trouble respecting the Boundary Question." This ludicrous error, which no man of average information could have committed, knowing as he would that no Georgia troops ever went to Maine or could have gone there, lets a strong light into the state of his mind. Any man in Maine could have told him, that Maine was compelled to give up a piece of her territory to Great Britain on that occasion, mainly by the influence of the South, which was determined not to go to war with Great Britain for a Northern quarrel.

On page 98, Mr. Adams states, as a well-known fact, that several slave States have been upon the borders of emancipation. No State ever came nearer to it, or was supposed to be nearer to it, than Kentucky was at the last revision of her constitution. At that time Mr. Clay was in favor of inserting a provision for gradual prospective emancipation, and some leading men, like R. J. Breckinridge, spoke eloquently on the same side. But the re-

sult showed that the people of the State were opposed to it by a large majority, and the constitution adopted was more pro-slavery than the former.

Dr. Adams asserts as a fact that antislavery agitation at the North has prevented emancipation at the South, which assertion is constantly repeated. We have heard the same assertion a hundred times from Southerners and Northerners. But it will not bear a moment's examination. If the people of a great State like Kentucky or Virginia really thought that their duty or their interest required them to emancipate, can any one suppose that they would refrain from doing it, because some people at the North thought so too? What do the people of the South generally care about the Abolitionists? We might as well say that the sneers against Great Britain by Mrs. Tyler, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, the New York Herald, and other proslavery writers, have prevented the British from abolishing *their* social evils. Suppose a British writer should declare that the people in the coal mines, and the children in the factories, would have been protected by Parliament, had it not been for Dr. Adams and his compeers in America, — what should we think of such a statement?

2. All sorts of false reasoning in defence of slavery are to be found in this book. We can give only a few examples of these errors of reasoning. The most common fallacy in the book is reasoning from a single fact to a general result. Thus, under the section of slave-auctions, we have a story told through eight pages, the amount of which is that a girl was put up at auction, and bought in by her master, and so was *not* separated from her mother. And from this fact the doctor argues that it is very unjust for the people of the North to complain of slave-auctions as they do. Now the simple question is, Are the slaves who are sold at auction *usually* bought in and kept together in families, or are they not? Of course they are not, since they are usually sold, because their owner is either unable or unwilling to keep them. Moreover, by the last census, it appears that 168,589 slaves must have been sold in ten years from the three States of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, into the more Southern States. What a vast amount of separation of families does not this involve, — of children torn from their parents, husbands from their wives, — and what a perversion of reasoning in Dr. Adams to parade his one fact through eight pages, and to omit altogether the consideration of this enormous mass of instances the other way!

By way of an offset to such separations, he tells us (p. 88) how many divorces are applied for, and granted, in New England. The course of thought seems to be, that, because there

are married people in New England who *wish* to be separated and who are sometimes separated by a *legal* process, therefore it is not so bad a thing for husbands and wives at the South, who wish to be together, to be torn apart, — or for them to separate voluntarily, as often as they choose, without law at all.

Dr. Adams excuses and defends the return of fugitives into slavery. He tells a story (p. 129) of a slave who ran away from his master while at the North, and then begged to be allowed to go back into slavery, and who was reluctantly allowed to do so. Of course no names nor places are given. But supposing the story true, what does it prove? If anything, we should suppose it would prove that no fugitive slave law is necessary. If slaves who escape become tired of freedom, and wish to go back into bondage, what need of a fugitive slave law in order to send them back? And if it be possible that a man may become so degraded by slavery as not to desire freedom, how does that prove that another man who does desire it should be deprived of it?

One chapter in the book is of course devoted to the British, and is filled with the usual sneers at British philanthropists, for being distressed about our slavery while they have other evils at home. Here the reasoning is, "You have evils and abuses which are practised in your own country, and which are not yet removed; therefore you must not say a word about any evils which exist among us." On the same ground the heathen might say to the American missionary, "You have heathenism and infidelity at home, Mormonism and atheism at home; therefore you ought not to say anything about our heathenism till that is cured." So the Roman Catholics in Europe might say to our associations for sending Bibles and Protestantism to them, "Have you not one or two millions of Catholics in the United States? Wait till you have converted them before you come to us." In these cases Dr. Adams would speedily find an answer. He would say, Christian sympathy is in its nature expansive; its rule is that of the good Samaritan; its neighbor is the suffering man everywhere; it works at home and abroad too, and those who do the most abroad are those who also do the most at home. And just so is it with the British Abolitionists, who are also the most active in exposing and reforming their own social evils. Take any one of the wrongs and evils in Great Britain of which Dr. Adams speaks, he will find that he never would have heard of it had it not been for some of those British philanthropists at whom he sneers. The same men who rebuke our slavery, rebuke and expose their own social wrongs, and labor for their extermination.

Again, Dr. Adams argues that, because the Northern moral



sense was silent in 1787, it ought to be silent now. (p. 134.) According to this view, there is never to be such a thing as national repentance or improvement. If our fathers did wrong, we are to continue doing so. Because our fathers consented that fugitives should be returned, we must consent too.

Dr. Adams assumes that the South insisted, in the Convention of 1787, on the provision for returning fugitives, and that the Constitution could not have been adopted without it. He also asserts that "the North protracted the slave-trade eight years longer than the South wished to endure it." Both these assertions are erroneous. Southern men submitted many plans of a Constitution, in which no such proviso for returning fugitives was included. Finally, the Convention agreed to this proviso unanimously, August 29th, 1787, with scarcely any debate or discussion. And what the Southern men *did* insist on, as a *sine qua non*, was the continuance of the African slave-trade.

3. But the heaviest charge against the book, considering that it is written by a Christian clergyman, is its low moral sense. The spirit of the book is a bad one. If one is influenced by it, he must become more selfish and mean after reading it. It takes part with the strong against the weak, it seeks to fasten the yoke more tightly. Everything which generous souls in all time have contended for is the object of its sarcasm. Everything which they have abhorred, it seeks to justify. Of absolute justice, of human rights, it has no word to say. Its whole tendency is to confound moral distinctions; to put evil for good, and good for evil; to justify the wicked and to condemn the righteous. Incapable wholly of understanding the noble spirit of Mrs. Stowe, it attempts to pick her work to pieces, and yet has not the courage to do it manfully. It "hints a fault and hesitates dislike." It seizes on something in Uncle Tom, which it calls "an imposition and cruel injustice," in the account of Mr. Shelby's relation to the slave-trader. But this injustice is not the sale of Uncle Tom, or of Eliza's child, but merely *the manner in which they talk together* while doing it. And then Dr. Adams talks patronizingly to Mrs. Stowe, and professes "to comfort her, in view of the harm she has done," and is good enough to promise her, that, notwithstanding her sins, "she shall not forfeit fair renown." Mrs. Stowe must be exceedingly obliged to him.

Dr. Adams reserves his tenderest sympathies, not for the miseries of the slave, but for the discomforts of the master. He thinks our interest in a fugitive, who in the love of liberty has taken his life in his hand and escaped from bondage, is likely to be "misplaced philanthropy, and the sheerest of romancing." (p. 132.) But there is one terrible form of hardship,

one act of injustice and unkindness, which touches him more deeply. This is the suffering of Southern masters and mistresses, in not being able to take their servants with them to the North during their summer excursions. He wails most tenderly and plaintively through two pages, because "their colored nurse" or "their skilful driver" may be persuaded to leave them, and, finding that they may be free, to "use it rather." In a similar state of mind, a Jew of the upper classes, on hearing of Christ's trial, might have commiserated Caiaphas, for having to get up so early, to the imminent peril of his health, and in a very cold morning, in order to examine Jesus. And no doubt the feeling in the minds of some noble Romans, on hearing of Christ's crucifixion, may have been mainly of indignation against the Jews, for having given their friend Pilate so much annoyance.

The Doctor is much pleased whenever he can hear a story of a slave who prefers slavery to freedom. These stories, we know, are usually quite apocryphal, and we can imagine how the merry dogs laughed among themselves after having persuaded the reverend Doctor that they liked to be slaves. "Master may die, and then I shall have to be free, said one." (p. 92.) No doubt he had more fun made out of his travels in this way, than he knew of. But suppose that all these stories are true, of those who prefer slavery, with enough to eat and drink provided for them by their masters, to liberty, with the necessity of care and greater labor. Such things would only prove how much slavery had already degraded them. Dr. Adams thinks that it is better for a man to be a slave, than to be poor; that it is better to be a slave, than to be hungry; better to be a slave, than to be obliged to exercise those habits of foresight and self-reliance which change the child into a man. The starved wolf in *Æsop's* fable, who declined accepting the privileges of the full-fed house-dog when accompanied by the badge of bondage, might give Dr. Adams a lesson in true magnanimity.

Of the religion of this book, what shall we say? Of course, there is in it plenty of that kind of piety and orthodoxy which makes much of sound opinions in theology and emotions in worship. That the slaves shout and sing, and listen to preaching, "though the white people are not excluded," and that they are all church-members, delights his Christian heart. But that these church-members may be bought and sold on the auction block, — that they have no legal marriages, — that they have no legal rights at all, — that they are at the mercy of wicked, licentious, and infidel masters or overseers, — that their condition makes falsehood, theft, and licentiousness a matter of course, — and that any one who teaches them to read the Bible is sent

to prison for doing so, — these are the facts which it is the object of Dr. Adams's book to palliate and make palatable to Northern Christians.

We have spoken strongly, we are aware, in censure of this remarkable production, but not more strongly than the case demands. That a *Southern* man, accustomed from childhood to this institution, and entangled in its meshes, should sometimes excuse or defend it, we know how to bear. But when a Northerner, enjoying the blessings of freedom and educated in the knowledge of its privileges, — when a minister of the Gospel, which was sent to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, — goes South to find excuses for slavery, and comes home in order to publish them, we think the case demands plain speaking. Either slavery is what he represents it to be, — a Christian and a blessed institution, — and then it should be upheld and extended; or it is a bitter evil, a cruel injustice, and a social curse, — and in that case there are no words too strong to use for its condemnation, and for that of its defenders.

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*Ida May; a Story of Things Actual and Possible.* By MARY LANGDON. "We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen." Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 478.

It was written, say some, by the same pen that gave Uncle Tom's Cabin to all the world. However this may be, Mrs. Stowe is in some sense the author of all the books, that, since the appearance of "Uncle Tom," have sought to engage sympathy for the slave and picture forth the lights and shadows of Southern life in the United States. Mary Langdon (we can employ no prefix, not knowing whether she is matron or maid) claims to write from personal observation, and to have endeavored to keep the middle way between extreme cases. *Ida May*, the suffering and triumphant heroine of the story, is brought to our notice, first, as the beautiful, delicately organized, gifted, and only child of doting parents, one of whom is soon removed by death, leaving the little daughter as the only earthly solace of a bereaved husband. This little child, in all the radiance of her beauty and tenderness of her youth, is stolen away by kidnappers to be sold into slavery. The fearful, heart-rending tale of the seizure and flight is told with great power, only it is so sad that one is almost tempted to lay down the book and go no further; but the child draws us after her, and we sympathize with her in all her sufferings from the brutal treatment of her



captors, and are somewhat relieved at last when she is bought by a kind-hearted planter and placed in charge of Aunt Venus, an old colored woman, whom sorrows have been as efficacious in Christianizing as they have been efficacious in diabolifying Aunt Chloe, a kind of ogress who keeps guard over the children that are collected from time to time by the kidnappers. Poor little Ida has met with such cruel treatment that for a time the remembrance of the past is mercifully obscured, and happily she falls into kind hands, and under a good Providence, through a succession of adventures, which, we suppose, the novel-reader will not reckon improbable, is established upon a pleasant plantation in one of the more Southern States, under the patronage of friends who soon discovered her real name and mournful history. Not to dwell upon the plot, we must hasten to say that the father, who has grown gray in his agonizing search after his lost child, is at last united to her again, and that the whole ends most satisfactorily in the marriage of Ida with a noble young man, her patron and defender in her misfortunes. We may add, that many of the scenes and incidents of the narrative are placed in the residence of a planter of culture and honor, in whom the author intends to give us a picture of a large class at the South, who, although they mean to be just, are yet so warped and blinded by the disastrous influences of their position that they lose sight of the claims of mercy, and, in doing what they will with what they call their own, sometimes become cruel tyrants.

The book, though not equal in power to "Uncle Tom," and suffering undoubtedly from coming after that striking production, is nevertheless the work of no unskilful hand. The author gives proof of deep and pure sensibility, united with excellent judgment and no small measure of artistic power. She is keenly alive to the beauties of nature and the sanctities of human life. We are almost ready to swear that she is a genuine lover of children, and we are satisfied that she ought to be a mother if she is not one. At her word pity or indignation overmasters the reader, and yet her book is far from being a mere play upon the emotions or the passions, for the writer reasons calmly and well, and recognizes the obstacles in the path whilst she steadily keeps before our eyes the grand aim. It will be easy to criticize the book, and say that its instances, besides being extreme, exceptional, and the like, may be paralleled amongst the degraded and unfortunate in communities where slavery is illegal and unknown. But the reply is just as near at hand, that the evils and sorrows delineated may be more general than we suppose, and are incidental not merely to inevitable social appointments, under Providence, but to arbitrary human arrangements which may be gradually reformed, and should not, in any case, be extended over any new ground. A word, too, as to the alleged

tendency of such works to irritate our fellow-citizens at the South. We would do everything consistent with a pre-eminent regard for Christianity to avoid any effect of this kind ; we should be ready to leave our Southern brethren to deal with this fearful subject in their own way, if they, on their part, would discharge us, with our conscience upon the subject, from affording them any aid or comfort in the matter of slavery, or from being in any way a party to its extension. If we think it wrong to hold slaves who have never thought of escaping from slavery, how can we, without degrading ourselves, be parties any longer to a covenant which binds us to restore slaves who have been moved to peril their lives for liberty ? Our brethren at the South ought not to press against us so fearful a contract, and one made obsolete by the world's moral progress in seventy years, after we have sought an honorable discharge. Moreover, in the book before us, the worst sins against freedom are committed, not by Southerners, but, for anything that appears to the contrary, by men of the North, and surely we have a right to plead with these ; such pleading cannot be stigmatized as meddling.

We are satisfied that, as in the case of "Uncle Tom," documentary evidence might be produced to authenticate the *materiel* of Ida May. We confidently anticipate for our heroine a speedy and wide introduction to the great world of readers, and we are sure that the book will profit as well as delight, and especially will serve to check the reaction in favor of slavery, which, according to some, threatens New England. We can only say, Read, mark, and digest the book, and whilst you mourn over the evils inseparable from slavery, remember also the dangerous and wretched classes thus far inseparable even from the civilization of free states.

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*Faggots for the Fireside ; or, Fact and Fancy.* By PETER PARLEY. Illustrated by Engravings. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 320.

BEFORE this pleasant book for children can receive any notice from us, it will have been put into the hands of hundreds of children, and will have been pronounced by them a most attractive and satisfactory Christmas gift. Peter Parley, however, does not need that any one should sound a trumpet before him. His praise is in all the nurseries, and every one who has found rest in his dwelling whilst one of his books kept a restless little mortal for the space of a whole hour in one place, will be ready to say to him, *Serius in cælum !* Besides "The Children of the

Sun," a tale of some hundred and thirty pages long, the book contains ten shorter stories, which are instructive in matter and agreeable in manner, with prologue and epilogue in rhyme. The illustrations are spirited and well executed, the type and paper of a sort that can do no harm to eyes that may have a service of threescore years before them, and the binding very tasteful, all of which was to be looked for as a matter of course from D. Appleton & Co.

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*Sabbath Evening Readings on the New Testament.* By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D. D., F. R. S. E., Minister of the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden, London. *St. Mark.* Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 288.

WE thought we had disposed of Dr. Cumming in our last number, and we had registered a vow never to read a word of his beyond the few passages which had caught our eyes in the newspapers, and which, unless our memory fails us, were aimed in what seemed a rather bigoted way at the Romish Church. But somehow we have been led along in this volume from page to page, and have found a vast deal of sensible, practical religious information, conveyed in a plain, straightforward style; in fact, just the easy, pleasant commentary upon Scripture which congregations ask for when they express a desire for "expository preaching." If their demand could be met with this kind of material, they would find, in common with the preacher, a very satisfactory relief from the monotone which is so often to be lamented in pulpit exercises.

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*The American Fugitive in Europe. Sketches of Places and People abroad.* By WILLIAM WELLS BROWN. *With a Memoir of the Author.* Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 315.

AN exceedingly intelligent and amiable mulatto face prefixed to this volume bespeaks for it a friendly perusal. With the exception of a dozen additional chapters, it is the reprint of a work issued by the author two years since in England. Amongst the multitude of books of travel, it would probably, in and of itself, command no great attention; but when we consider that it is the production of a fugitive from slavery, who never in all his life



passed so much as a day in a school, its claims upon our notice are manifest enough. We are glad that it has been allowed to go forth just as it was written, with its slight inaccuracies and inelegancies, the genuine product of the writer's brain. Mr. Brown's opportunities were good, and his sketches of persons and things are very lively. Many a graduate of our colleges would not make half so entertaining a volume.

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*The World in the Middle Ages, an Historical Geography, with Accounts of the Origin and Development, the Institutions and Literature, the Manners and Customs, of the Nations in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, from the Close of the Fourth to the Middle of the Fifteenth Century.* By ADOLPHUS LOUIS KOEPPEN, Professor of History and German Literature in Franklin and Marshall College, Pennsylvania. Accompanied by complete Historical and Geographical Indexes, and six colored Maps from the Historical Atlas of CHARLES SPRUNER, LL. D., &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 346 and 348 Broadway. London: 16 Little Britain. 1854. 2 vols. pp. 440, 401.

HISTORY and geography ought always to be studied in connection. If any one questions this statement, we recommend him to read the tidings from the seat of war in Europe, first without the illustrations supplied by a reliable atlas, and then with the help which such a picture of the surface of the earth affords. One who has never tried it can have no idea of the fresh interest that is imparted to a newspaper column by the map always ready for consultation. We are sure that this work of Professor Koeppen, including both the letter-press and the atlas, will clear up from many minds the somewhat intricate study of mediæval history. No one, of course, will think of reading through the volumes either at a heat or in any considerable portions; they are for reference, for the instruction and entertainment of the student, not to fill up the leisure moments of the mere reader. If any fancy that they have no literary wants which are not met by the ancient and modern atlases with which we became familiar in our school days, a glance at this work will convict them of shallowness and error. Professor Koeppen has executed his laborious task with an industry and fidelity worthy we should say of a German, if we did not know that Denmark has the honorable title to so accomplished a scholar. We heartily commend his treatise to all who are really ambitious of a generous historical culture.

*Stories from the History of the Reformation, for the Entertainment and Instruction of the Young. With Illustrations from Original Designs, by ANNA MARY HOWITT.* New York : C. S. Francis & Co., 252 Broadway. Boston : Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 202.

*The Children's Year.* By MARY HOWITT. *With Plates, from Original Designs, by ANNA MARY HOWITT.* New York and Boston : C. S. Francis & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 257.

*The Young Islanders ; or, The School-Boy Crusoes. A Tale of the Last Century.* By JEFFERYS TAYLOR. New York and Boston : C. S. Francis & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 316.

THE first of these books fully satisfies the terms of the title, and cannot fail to engage the young reader in the stirring history of that great movement in which Luther stands forth as the prominent figure. It belongs to a class of works which is especially valuable, and tells a tale that should sink into the hearts of our youth.

"The Children's Year" is a kind of journal of the experience of the author's children, and is exceedingly rich in matter, and attractive in style, besides being no fiction.

With most young readers, the last of our list will probably be the first, though its claims are by no means superior to those of others. It will be found a very pleasant book of adventure.

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*The Poetical Works of WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, D. C. L., Poet Laureate, etc., etc.* Boston : Little, Brown, & Co. 1854. 7 vols. 16mo. pp. xl. and 384, 406, 342, 367, 366, 371, 414.

THIS is the first complete edition of Wordsworth's Poems, we believe, that has been published since his death. In its arrangement the distribution adopted by him in his later editions has been followed ; and the posthumous poem entitled *The Prelude* has been added in a seventh volume. The Prefaces and Appendices are given at the end of the fifth volume ; and in the last volume there are some new illustrative notes and letters, drawn from the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth's Memoirs of his uncle. The Biographical Sketch prefixed to the first volume is understood to be from the pen of Mr. James Russell Lowell, and constitutes another and perhaps the most attractive feature in this edition, which is in every respect so creditable to the publishers. To the preparation of this memoir Mr. Lowell has brought a highly cultivated taste, a large and accurate acquaintance with English literature,

a mind thoroughly imbued with the spirit of poetry, and a perfect mastery of the art of easy and polished composition. The style is terse, flowing, and exquisitely modulated; and the few and uneventful incidents of Wordsworth's life are strikingly exhibited. Throughout, the narrative is studded with felicitous expressions. Thus, in speaking of Wordsworth's sister, Mr. Lowell says: "It was she who called forth the shier sensibilities of his nature, and taught an originally harsh and austere imagination to surround itself with fancy and feeling, as the rock fringes itself with ferns." In another place he remarks, that "The sympathy and appreciation of an intellect like Coleridge's supplied him with that external motive to activity which is the chief use of popularity, and justified to him his opinion of his own powers." Again, in referring to Raisley Calvert's well-timed legacy, he says: "By the death of Calvert, in 1795, this timely help came to Wordsworth at the turning-point of his life, and made it honest for him to write poems that will never die, instead of theatrical critiques as ephemeral as play-bills, or leaders that led only to oblivion." His criticism of Wordsworth's poetry is sound and judicious, though we should be inclined to abate somewhat from the high praise accorded to the poet.

It has been happily remarked by some one, that Wordsworth was a great poet, not in consequence of his perverse theories, but in spite of them. The more widely he departed from his own preconceived opinions in regard to the true nature and office of poetry, the nearer he approached to a realization of the measure of poetical excellence imposed by his own genius. Many of his subjects were badly chosen, and his treatment of them extremely infelicitous. Yet there is so much of beauty and sublimity in his poetry, that one almost forgets the dreary wastes in the *Excursion* and the *Prelude*, and the platitudes of many of the *Lyrical Ballads*. As in so many other instances, it will doubtless prove true in the case of Wordsworth, that the middle course is the true way. In the settled judgment of a remote posterity he will probably neither be depreciated to the level which some have been disposed to assign him, nor elevated to the height which his more extravagant admirers claim for him.

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*The Complete Poetical Works of WILLIAM COLLINS, THOMAS GRAY, and OLIVER GOLDSMITH. With Biographical Sketches and Notes. Edited by EPES SARGENT. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 98, 139, and 166.*

THE success which has attended the different editions of the British poets now in course of publication in this city and in New



York, is one of many indications of the improved state of the public taste in regard to literary matters. In each case, the enterprise of the publishers and the judgment and taste of the editors have been rewarded by an extensive sale, showing that there is an increasing demand for good editions of works of a high character. Undoubtedly, many works of a merely frivolous or even pernicious tone are still printed and extensively circulated; but we think it is not too much to say, that five or ten years since there would have been little inducement for attempting the publication of a complete series of the modern British poets. The works of different poets were, indeed, printed in various forms, and with more or less regard to editorial illustration; but for many years no publisher ventured beyond the works of a few of the more popular poets, and no one attempted anything like a complete collection. Now we have three different editions, issued in a style of great typographical beauty, and carefully edited by persons of competent ability.

The volume now on our table is the third in the series edited by Mr. Sargent, and, like the previous volumes in the same collection, possesses some special claims on the popular favor. The typographical execution reflects much credit on the publishers, and the price at which it is sold is sufficiently low to place it within the reach of every person of moderate means. The biographical memoirs prefixed to the works of the different poets, though brief, are polished and graceful essays, exhibiting much critical acumen, and an intimate acquaintance with the literary history of the last century. But a chief feature in it is a translation of Vida's *Scacchiæ Ludus*, or *The Game of Chess*,—a poem containing nearly seven hundred lines, which has lately been discovered in manuscript in Goldsmith's handwriting, and is supposed to have been translated by him. It was first published by Mr. Peter Cunningham, in his recent elegant edition of Goldsmith's *Complete Works*, and is now for the first time reprinted in this country. Of its authenticity as an actual translation by Goldsmith we have no means of judging in the absence of any positive knowledge on the subject, as it is quite improbable that Goldsmith should have transcribed so long a poem without being concerned in its translation, and almost equally improbable that he should have translated it without publishing it. Judging merely from the internal evidence of the poem itself, we should be inclined, in common with Mr. Sargent and the English critics, to ascribe the translation to Goldsmith. But in any case the translation is a highly meritorious and successful effort by some skilful hand.

The three poets whose works Mr. Sargent has here collected in a single volume wrote but little, and do not rise to the first

rank among English poets. But among the secondary poets we know few who are equal, and none who are superior, to them. Their best pieces will probably be read as long as the language shall last. The *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, *The Traveller*, *The Deserted Village*, and *The Passions*, are unsurpassed in their respective kinds. Nor is it probable that any similar productions will ever supplant them in the estimation of scholars and critics.

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*Poems of the Orient.* By BAYARD TAYLOR. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1855. 16mo. pp. 203.

THIS volume is among the first fruits of Mr. Taylor's Eastern wanderings, and is characterized by the same general peculiarities observable in the previous volumes of his poetry. The poems comprised in it are distributed under two separate heads. Under the first we have a collection of poems chiefly on Eastern themes, and abounding in Oriental imagery expressed in warm and passionate language. Many of them are exceedingly chaste and beautiful productions, and in nearly all there are finely turned lines and noble sentiments. The more elaborate pieces, however, are less successful than the simpler poems and ballads. It is in the last, perhaps, that our poet's powers are most happily exercised; and in each of his volumes he has given us some very spirited ballads, which would in themselves show that he possesses the true poetic fire. In his new volume there are fewer of these animated and picturesque ballads than we could wish; but in the few instances in which he has thus given freedom to his verse he has achieved a marked success. The other short and simple pieces are also pleasing and genial productions, marked by an easy and natural versification, and considerable fancy. In the more ambitious poems there is an air of constraint and an apparent aiming after effect which mar their beauty and injure the harmonious flow of the verse. Akin to this is another and not less obvious defect, which we think is more apparent in this than in Mr. Taylor's previous volumes, and which consists in an occasional similarity between his verse and some other familiar poem. Whatever falls from his pen bears, indeed, the impress of his own mind, but he is occasionally betrayed into an imitation of some favorite metre or striking thought. It is to be regretted that a poet with so much freshness and power should fall into this defect, for it is one that is fatal to all high poetical success. The second part consists of miscellaneous poems, many of which possess great

merit, and are marked by a calm and reflective tone, in happy contrast with the warmer and brighter coloring of the pieces in the first part.

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*The Poets and Poetry of Europe, with Introductions and Biographical Notices.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. pp. 779.

AFTER a lapse of ten years, it was quite time that there should be a re-issue of this work. We salute it with all welcome. It comes from our own favorite poet, rich with his foreign learning and with the names and jewels of a multitude of the children of song from every part of the Elder Continent. We have specimens here, from various translating hands, of the Anglo-Saxon, the Icelandic, the Danish, the Swedish, the German, the Dutch, the French, the Italian, the Spanish, and the Portuguese poetry. Of course the pieces selected are of very unequal merit; but the compiler chose the best he could find; and he has besides added some of his own, which could not fail to be among the best. The introductions to each literature, and the biographical sketches, — many of which were written by Professor Felton, — are full of interesting instruction. And in addition to these there is more than is set down in the title-page; — a charming account now and then of some particular poem, or a literary critique upon its author or his age. Take, for example, that perfect description of Tegnér's famous "Frithjofsage." The whole story is rehearsed with so much exactness, that not an incident or image is lost; but at the same time with a free and merry vigor, that carries away the reader with a sort of frosty delight. The prose narrative, though it cannot present the flowing and admirably varied measures of the original verses, is full of the old Runic spirit, gleaming with ice and steel, and seeming to revel in the electric streamers of the Northern sky. Portions of two of the cantos, the third and the nineteenth, are presented in their musical lines by the compiler himself; and we hardly need say how far these surpass the extracts that he has borrowed from the metrical version of Mr. Strong, who is not much of a paladin in this kind of emprise.

We met, a year or two ago, with an allusion to this part of our American service to foreign literature, where we were not looking for it. Gottlieb Mohnike, whose German translation of the "Frithjofs Sage" is, among several, the best, says in his Preface, which is dated in January, 1842: "*Eine ausführliche Beurtheilung der Frithjofssage mit einer Menge Auszüge aus derselben findet sich in* The North American Review, Boston and New



York, Nr. XCVI., Juli 1837. *Sie ist von Professor Longfellow, der mit der Schwedischen Litteratur sehr bekannt geworden ist.*" Mohnike goes on to speak of the fragments contained in that article as happily hit, and so pronounced by the Bishop and Knight Tegnér himself. This every one would expect. But we confess that we felt a little surprised at the great poet's opinion, that the English language is better fitted than any other for translation from the Swedish. "For us Germans," says Mohnike, "our language makes the task more difficult." This we can by no means believe; were it only for the fact that the German tongue is so much richer than our own in its boundless facility of forming double or female rhymes. In that power, at least for grave composition, our native speech is sadly deficient; and it is a deficiency that often seriously embarrasses the labor of metrical translation. Take the case, however, as it is; if we could have a complete version of "The Legend of Frithiof" from Mr. Longfellow's hand, it would excite great admiration, we are quite sure, for both the poets.

To return to the volume before us. With its vast store of materials, having something for the gratification of every refined taste, it deserves to be treasured as a book of reference by all who take a hearty interest in European letters.

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*Captain Canot; or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver; being an Account of his Career and Adventures on the Coast, in the Interior, on Shipboard, and in the West Indies.* Written out and edited from the Captain's Journals, Memoranda, and Conversations, by BRANTZ MAYER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854. 12mo. pp. 448.

FEW more interesting books have been or can be. The character of Canot, his sudden transitions of fortune, his intimacy with a country either unvisited or visited by those who cannot report their discoveries, the wonderful confidences reposed in him by African chief, Spanish slaver, English cruiser, Havana merchant, the freshness and piquancy of the narrative, and the dare-devil spirit of the narrator, seem to unite in one man Robinson Crusoe, Paul Jones, and highwayman Turpin. The details are necessarily disgusting, of beastly licentiousness, brutal murders, civil wars waged in behalf of the slave-trade, boastful cannibalism, and frightful superstition.

There is a most impressive moral to the whole story. Here a man of rare fortitude, exhaustless energy, peculiarly adapted

talent, unlimited enterprise, has spent the best of his days beyond the comforts of civilization, and in utmost perils of life by storms at sea and fevers ashore, by black and white assassins and conspirators, only to be "a stranded wreck in the prime of manhood." No legitimate business but would have rewarded his self-devotion with comfort and independence. The twenty-years gambler in human flesh is visited no doubt with dark memories of the murders in which he has taken part, with physical infirmities resulting from his prolonged hardships, and unavailing remorse for the life-long suffering inflicted upon so many of his victims. Of the few friends who cheered his voluntary loneliness, some perished for his sake, others died in misery, and the rest turned against him with a maniac hatred. Though there is hardly a word of sympathy for the crushed native through these seventy-three chapters, — though there is much secret exultation over his piratical expeditions, his escapes from the British cruisers, his revenges upon even the pettiest enemy, his ingenuity at multiplying candidates for the "Middle Passage," — the effect of the whole is so sad, that no one will be in danger of becoming a slaver in consequence. But, while the Captain bears most favorable testimony to the Liberia colony, the impression which he gives is, that its existence would be problematical if left to itself, — that the natural indolence of African character would readily sink back into superstition and sensuality, — that the same degradation which stamps the black man upon the ancient monuments of Egypt will not cease on his native soil for ages to come, — that the vices of our civilization have got the start of its virtues, especially rum and slavery, — and that the last problem which humanity will undertake to settle will be the redemption of those Central African tribes who seem to wear the faintest possible semblance of man. At the end of the fifty-first chapter an awful anecdote is given of the slaver, Don Pedro, — that he made one night a bet of a slave to repeat the whole Lord's Prayer in Latin, and won his wager, going through the petition without faltering, and taking the poor negro as his prize at the end.

Still, the practical experiences of the traffic in "human sinews bought and sold" have never been thoroughly exposed before; the domestic customs of some interior tribes have never been exhibited; and though adventure seems to crowd upon adventure as novelists would hardly invent, there is an apparent truthfulness about the narrative, and the assurance of Brantz Mayer that the romantic history is no fiction.

*Life of John Chrysostom, based on the Investigations of Neander, Böhringer, and others.* By FREDERIC M. PERTHES. Translated from the German, by ALVAH HOVEY and DAVID B. FORD. Boston : John P. Jewett & Co. 1854. 16mo. pp. 239.

THIS biographical sketch of "the Golden-Mouthed Preacher" and "Neander's Christian Hero," with its incidental review of the more important ecclesiastical movements of the fourth and fifth centuries of our era, is suited for popular use as well as for scholars. The subject-matter of the volume is interesting, and in portions painfully so. It embraces that mingling of good and evil, that combination of things to be rejoiced over and to be mourned over, which will be found in any truthful representation of what is called the "History of the Christian Church," at any period of time. How strange it is that the moral which presses itself upon the notice of every thoughtful reader of such pages should ever be lost sight of, or made secondary to any purpose of party triumph! The more of such volumes as this before us, faithfully and candidly constructed, are put within the reach of right-minded readers, the more just and intelligent will popular opinions become in reference to matters which now suggest perplexities only, or serve as grievous stumbling-blocks.

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*Spenser and The Fairy Queen.* By JOHN S. HART, LL. D. Philadelphia : Hayes and Zell. 1854. 12mo. pp. 434.

DR. HART has here executed most felicitously an undertaking for which many readers, male and female, have been waiting during late years. Not a few persons who love to yield to the attractions of the wide field of literature without all the furnishings of a thorough culture, have known that there was such a poet as Spenser, and have taken up his charming poem; but only to lay it down without reading it. Its antiquated legendary and emblematical cast has made them apprehend that the perusal of it would suffer many abatements of its pleasure because of the perplexities which invest it. Dr. Hart has purposed to smooth their way for them, and he has succeeded wonderfully. The ingenious skill with which he has made the biography and the intimacies of Spenser, with much illustrative matter of a personal and historical character, to serve as a running commentary on the whole poem, answers his desired end. The writer is content to call his work an Essay. The choicer portions of the poem are given, and the portions omitted are represented by a summary in prose. The antiquated spelling is changed, while the rhythm and metre are preserved.



*Mile-Stones in our Life-Journey.* By SAMUEL OSGOOD. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 307.

THIS is one of that most valuable class of books on sacred subjects which harmonize the serious and the cheerful elements of religion. Mr. Osgood in his style of writing combines a scholar's learning with the direct and practical instruction which meets the wants of common men ; and in his mode of treating his chosen themes he passes naturally from a solemn to a pleasing strain. In his volumes we discern, as the basis of his intellectual culture, a wide catholicity and a generous purpose which make him an eclectic of the safest and most useful kind. The marked periods and incidents of human life form the themes of this volume, and so it leads us forth into more public scenes of experience and conflict, and deals with larger realities, than are those presented in the household volume by the same writer, entitled "*The Hearth-Stone.*" In both volumes we find the same rich results of thought, after it has accepted its materials from the bright or sad, the manifest or the mysterious, elements of human existence, and has earnestly wrought them over in the spirit's own depths, asking meanwhile the help of God and of the wise and the good who have meditated on the same materials-since the world began. The true test of the practical value of such essays as are contained in the volume before us depends upon their healthfulness of spirit, their freedom from every tinge of personal disappointment or individual eccentricity, and their fidelity to life's great lessons as they are presented to those who live under much the same common influences. Tried by this test, we must pronounce a warm encomium on this volume. Its spirit is sedate, but genial. Some exquisite thoughts and some delicate fancies gleam over the pages, and continually remind us that its themes, though the oldest, are still the least exhausted, and need only the mining tools of an able and earnest mind to be made to give up their precious treasures. Not the least interesting portion of the volume is an Introductory Chapter, the fruit of leisure during a summer vacation, which the writer gives his readers the privilege of omitting. They will be unwise if they do so. Those numerous friends of the author who can follow these preliminary pages with the comments of their own memory and observation, have some of them already found enjoyment in their perusal. They touch delicately upon a few characters whose influence the writer felt in his youth, they glance at his school days and college days, and at his experiences in a village and in a city where the first years of his ministry were spent. Then follow seventeen essays, with their well-chosen mottoes in prose or poetry, written in a tone and spirit which we have already char-

acterized. Our readers may depend upon it that, if they begin the volume, they will finish it, and then will turn to it again, and be conscious of having received an impulse and a blessing from it. One of the pieces we regret because of its title, — that of “Old Age.” We have no fault to find with the treatment of the theme, for that is excellent; but the writer has no personal concern with that subject for the present, and his meddling with it is too ominous to please us.

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## INTELLIGENCE.

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### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

“*Lyteria, A Dramatic Poem,*” (16mo, pp. 123,) is the title of one of Ticknor and Fields’s recent publications. Founded upon a classic story, with the incidents of which, however, it takes liberties not unauthorized by the license of the art, the poem is designed to exhibit the heroic devotion of woman when her soul is engaged in a sacrifice demanded by duty. The story is told in rhythmical numbers of chaste and beautiful diction, and while the language is rich and highly expressive, it is wholly free from affectation. We have been charmed in its perusal by its constant utterance of just and sweet sentiments from the respective characters in whom such sentiments are becoming. One might indeed suggest that a Christian culture in the author has occasionally led him to attribute a finer tone of piety to the worshippers at a heathen shrine, than our classic records will warrant: but we will not turn the suggestion into a censure. There are sentences and lines in the poem which express in terse and felicitous terms compressed precepts, maxims, and solemn verities worthy of being used as mottoes for moral essays. There is in the poem not only promise of great and good things yet to come from the author, but a proof of present power and ability indicating real genius.

Redfield of New York has published, in an elegant volume, (8vo, pp. 649,) a continuation of the *History of Louisiana*, by Charles Gayarré. This volume covers the period of the Spanish domination in that colony, a period embracing thirty-three years, beginning with the complete establishment of the power of Spain after its protracted strife with France, and ending with the transference of the Colony to the United States. The period is rich in incidents of a most exciting and interesting character, while it is not lacking either in painful or amusing elements. The historian is well qualified for his task, and he has thrown into it his zeal and devoted effort, thus insuring success.

Redfield has also published a volume of very pleasant matter for easy reading, under the title, “*You have heard of them, by Q.*” (12mo, pp. 353.) The inference being, “*You may be glad to hear more of them,*” the writer proceeds to give us biographical and critical sketches

of all sorts of persons of recent or present notoriety in the world, — of musicians and artists male and female, statesmen, story-tellers, poets, and *litterati* in general.

D. Appleton & Co., of New York, have published a volume, entitled "The World a Workshop; or, The Physical Relation of Man to the Earth. By Thomas Ewbank." (12mo, pp. 197.) The reputation of the author as a popular writer upon science is already established. In this volume, avoiding all abstruse and technical discussions, he reviews some of the most engaging matters involved in his general theme, simplifies and condenses a vast deal of valuable information, and invests the parts and the whole of his subject with the healthful and grateful spirit of religion. The book deserves high encomiums, and can be read by no one without leaving an elevating and pleasing impression.

Charles B. Norton, of New York, has published a small volume, entitled "Discoveries in Chinese, or the Symbolism of the Primitive Characters of the Chinese System of Writing." (16mo, pp. 137.) Some of our readers may remember that an account appeared in the New York Tribune, some five years ago, of the theory advanced and illustrated by Mr. Stephen P. Andrews, the author of this volume, and which is further developed in the pages before us. His subject is the most difficult one which philology now offers. Had we space, we should gladly enlarge upon the contents of the volume, and endeavor to do some justice to the ingenuity, skill, and perseverance of Mr. Andrews. As it is, we must commend the book, for the present, to the notice of our readers, assuring them of its great value and interest.

The same publisher has issued "An Epitome of English Grammar, by the Rev. Dr. Mylne, of England, with important Alterations and Additions, adapted to the Use of American Schools, by J. F. Gibson." (32mo, pp. 159.) There seems now to be a commendable rivalry as to who shall construct the briefest and simplest manual of English Grammar. The little book before us may dispute the palm with all others.

While mentioning the publications of Mr. Norton, we desire again to commend his elegant and valuable journal, the *Literary Gazette*, which is published on the first and the fifteenth of each month. To literary men and readers in general it is a most convenient paper, exhibiting proofs of great labor in its preparation, and offering in the course of a year a wonderful amount of bibliographical information.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have published a Second Series of "Thoughts to Help and to Cheer." (16mo, pp. 229.) Arranged under each day of each of the last six months of the year, the volume offers us a Scriptural quotation, with brief reflections and suggestions in prose and in poetry, designed to feed the religious life and to influence for good each passing day. The plan of the volume is judiciously chosen to suit a devotional purpose, and the contents, besides being unexceptionable, are edifying and invigorating.

#### ERRATA.

In our last No., p. 385, line 2, *dele* day.

" " " 465, " 26, *for* cared *read* dared.